The Private Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai

From 1736 to 1761.

VOLUME VI.

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THE DIARY

OF

ANANDA RANGA PILLAI

TRANSLATED FROM THE TAMIL BY ORDER OF
THE GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS

EDITED BY

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Volume VI

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INTRODUCTION

The present volume covers a somewhat longer period than those which have immediately preceded it. It opens on October 18, 1748, just after Boscawen had raised the siege of Pondichery, and concludes on March 31, 1750, when the armies of Chandâ Sâhib and Nâsîr Jang had come face to face. Within this period however there are two great gaps which the student of the period cannot but regret. The first runs from November 24, 1748, to July 28, 1749; and consequently we lack all detail of the concluding negotiations between Dupleix and Chandâ Sâhib of which, so far as published matter goes at present, our information is extremely vague. The second runs from July 28 to September 4, 1749; and consequently we lack the detail of the movements just before the battle of Ambûr, the battle itself, and the events immediately following. This is regrettable because, as we shall see, the Diary suggests a view of the movements of that campaign much at variance with that hitherto received.

Despite these disadvantages, the present volume is, I think, more interesting and more important than its predecessors. For one thing, no part of it has previously been published. Up to the close of the siege of Pondichery, all the more valuable passages had already appeared in the admirable selections of M. Vinson;[1] but these come to a close

[1] *Les Français dans l'Inde . . . extraits du journal d'Anandarangappoullé*, Paris, 1894.

in October 1748, with the repulse of the English chronicled in the last volume. The present and the remaining instalments of the Diary have the freshness of unpublished matter.

In the second place our diarist has now reached an historical epoch more important and less known than that which preceded it. The early history of Pondichery, like that of Madras, is largely parochial. It only touches occasionally and by accident on great issues. Even the war of 1744—49, the capture of Madras, and the quarrels of Dupleix and La Bourdonnais, afford events of only minor importance, which in no wise affected the issues of the national contest. It is scarcely a paradox to say that the most important event of that period was the storm which shattered the fleet of La Bourdonnais; and that, not because it ruined French sea-power in Eastern waters—in no case could the great French sailor have encountered with success the armament of Boscawen—but because it added 1,200 fighting men to the garrison commanded by Dupleix. The consequences of that augmentation were really important. Without it, Dupleix probably could not have defended Pondichery against the English, nor could he have intervened with such striking success in Indian politics. The historical importance of Pondichery and Madras dates from the battle of Ambûr.

Of the events leading up to that battle we see something in the earlier part of the following pages.

The news of Chandâ Sâhib's liberation by the Marathas and his advance at the head of an army, had reached Pondichery some months before the present volume opens. But the long period of inaction which had ensued had shaken the belief of Dupleix in the reality of the adventurer's approach. He roundly says he does not believe a word of it, and refuses an offer of Razâ Sâhib's to pledge jewels for the debt owed by Chandâ Sâhib's family.[1] But a day or two later he begins to hedge, telling the diarist to write so as to persuade Chandâ Sâhib that his son's forcible detention in Pondichery was intended merely to secure the return of his mother.[2] Just at this point the Diary breaks off, and we do not know the details of the events by which the alliance between Chandâ Sâhib and Dupleix was again knit up. If we may believe the account given in the Company's Memoir against Dupleix,—Dupleix himself nowhere condescends to more than vague generalities on the topic—an embassy was received towards the end of February at Pondichery, with the result that Dupleix promised the assistance of a body of Europeans to place Chandâ Sâhib on the *masnad* of Arcot, on condition that he would at once take into his pay 2,000 French sepoys and grant the French the neighbouring district of Villiyanallûr, which they had long been asking from Nâsîr Jang in exchange for Madras.

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[1] See pp. 8 and 26 *infra*.   [2] pp 29-30 *infra*.

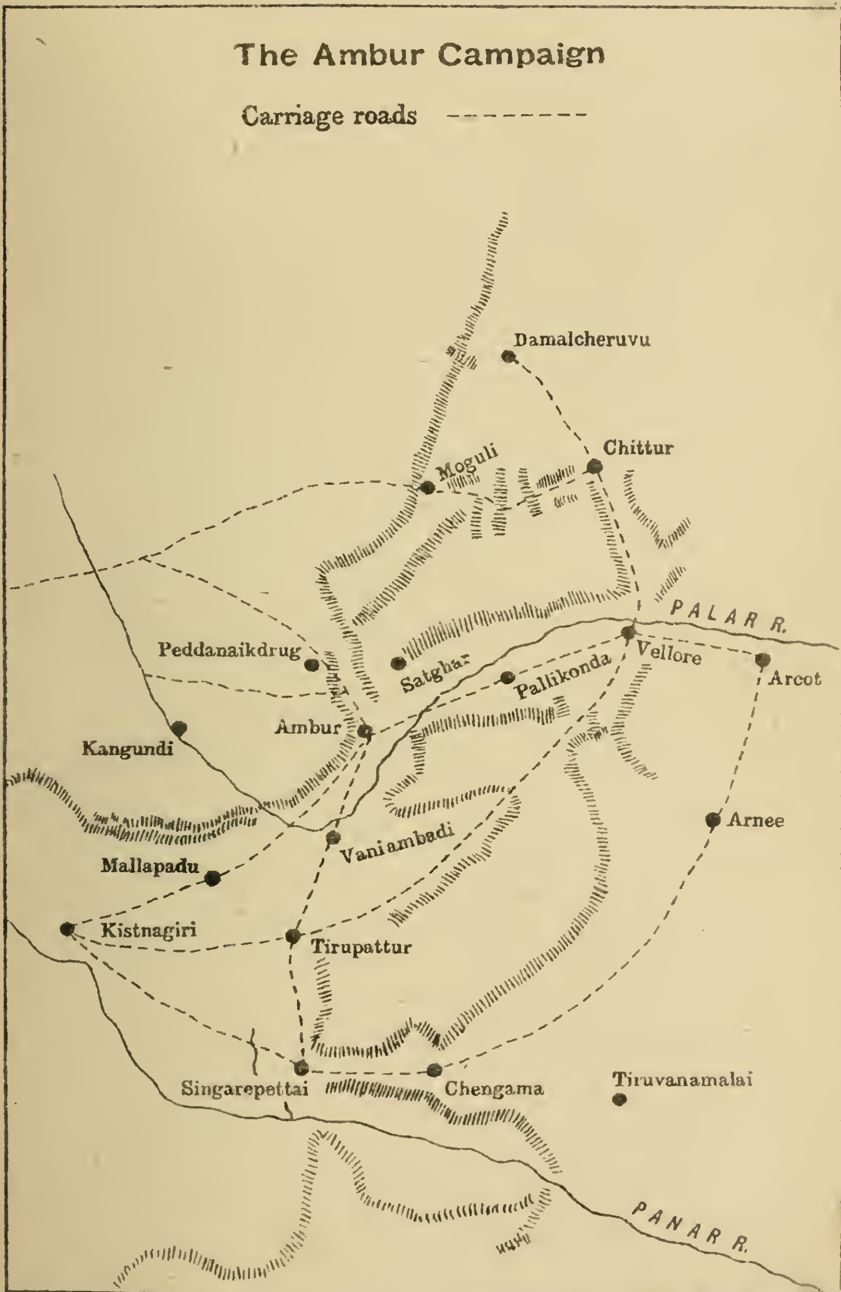
The movements of Chandâ Sâhib during this period are yet more obscure. On reconsideration of the matter, I am inclined to think that all the historians have failed to give a correct account of them. Orme and Wilks give us legendary and fantastic stories of wars, defeats, and amazing liberations. In the absence of more explicit information, it seems probable that the year which elapsed between Chandâ Sâhib's release from Satâra and his appearance in the Carnatic was spent by him in attempting to bring the Râjâ of Bednûr into subjection to Muzaffar Jang as Nawâb of Bijapur—perhaps at first with the vague hope of doing there what he had almost accomplished at Trichinopoly, and establishing himself in an independent position. In the course of the Bednûr war he lost his eldest son, 'Abid Sâhib; he exacted from the Râjâ a tribute of $2\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs of rupees for Muzaffar Jang; and then in June 1749, they moved together towards the Carnatic.[1]

Vague news of their preparations reached the old Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn Khân at Arcot in the course of that month He also had intelligence that Razâ Sâhib at Pondichery was preparing to join his father. In order to test the intentions of Dupleix, he wrote demanding that Razâ Sâhib should be turned out of the French settlement.[2]

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[1] See pp. 102 and 107 *infra*; and also Chandâ Sâhib's own brief account, pp. 185-186.

[2] p. 100 *infra*.



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A day or two later came news of the precautions which the Nawâb had thought it wise to take. He had sent his family off to various places of safety, paid up the arrears of his army, and written to Muzaffar Jang to learn what terms could be got. By this time, also, Arcot was thoroughly alarmed; merchants were removing their property; and not a bullock could be had.[1] On July 10, Dupleix had news that the invaders had reached Dêvanahalli, with 14,000 horse and 15,000 foot.[2]

Immediately all preparations were made to despatch Razâ Sâhib with the promised 2,000 sepoys under 'Abd-ul-rahmân and 300 European volunteers under d'Auteuil. Razâ Sâhib was called upon to execute bonds for the payment of the troops, as had been previously agreed, and to make the promised grant for Villiyanallûr. Within a few days more, he, d'Auteuil and 'Abd-ul-rahmân had marched for Arcot.[3]

What follows is largely divergent from the accepted version of events. It has been usually supposed that Chandâ Sâhib advanced through the Dâmalcheruvu Pass, through which the Marathas had advanced in 1740; that Anwar-ud-dîn lay at Ambûr; that the French and their allies effected a junction, routed Anwar-ud-dîn, and then occupied Arcot.[4] But this story in itself offers considerable difficulties. Ambûr does not lie on the

[1] p. 110 *infra*.
[2] p. 123 *infra*.
[3] pp. 111, 124, 129 and 134 *infra*.
[4] Malleson, *French in India*, p. 237.

road which would lead an invading army from Dâmalcheruvu to Arcot. It is not apparent, then, why Anwar-ud-dîn should have taken post there, or why Chandâ Sâhib should have turned aside from Arcot to meet him. Why should Anwar-ud-dîn have thus abandoned his capital, and why should his rival have neglected to seize it?

But according to the news which reached Ranga Pillai, the movements of the armies were very different. Chandâ Sâhib did not enter the Carnatic from the north, but from the west, by what was called the Chengama Pass. Anwar-ud-dîn advanced to meet him and seems to have taken up a position which barred the enemy's moving towards Pondichery. He is asserted to have had with him but a fifth of the forces that accompanied the invaders.[1]

Meanwhile Razâ Sâhib had moved northward, and on July 26 news came that he had reached Arcot; Chandâ Sâhib was believed to be at Sahâdêv, and the Nawâb still at Chengama.[2]

In that position Ranga Pillai leaves the three armies, and does not tell us how they came to meet at Ambûr. Probably Chandâ Sâhib moved towards Arcot, joined the French at Pallikonda[3] and then turned back to encounter Anwar-ud-dîn moving after him. We must probably give up the traditional entrenchments which d'Auteuil had so much difficulty to storm. In any case on August 3,

[1] p. 137 *infra*. [2] pp. 146–147 *infra*.
[3] p. 153 *infra*.

Anwar-ud-dîn perished there ; his elder son, Mahfuz Khân, was made a prisoner ; and the younger, Muhammad 'Alî, escaped to Trichinopoly.

When the Diary reopens a month later, the victors are still at Arcot, the province has in general submitted, and the refractory killedar of Chêtpattu is being coerced into making terms. The French officers, who had found Chandâ Sâhib slow in rewarding their valour, were given a donation of 20,000 rupees and sent in advance towards Pondichery, whither Chandâ Sâhib and Muzaffar Jang followed at the end of the month.

There they remained some time, discussing their future plans. It has been said that this delay was caused by the presence of Boscawen's squadron on the Coast. That may well have been the case ; but Orme's belief [1] that Boscawen himself wished to intervene and was only hindered from doing so by Floyer's refusal to make an official request to that effect, seems to me difficult to accept. The English had already decided to support Muhammad 'Alî ; [2] one cannot therefore suppose that they shrank from the responsibility for intervention. Moreover in a lengthy despatch, describing the political situation on the Coast at this moment, Boscawen does not breathe a word of any wish to remain.[3] He left the Coast in consequence of orders from the

1 *History*, Vol. I, p. 133.

2 Malleson (*French in India*, p. 241) is mistaken in supposing that Floyer shrank from 'the support of a pretender *in extremis*.'

3 Boscawen to Bedford, May 28, 1750 (*P.R.O.*, *C.O.*, 77—18).

Admiralty[1] sufficiently categorical to explain his departure even at so remarkable a crisis.

Chandâ Sâhib and Muzaffar Jang then set out to replenish their purses, rather than to complete their conquests. They moved southwards, towards Tanjore, but Chandâ Sâhib turned aside to exact tribute from Udaiyârpâlaiyam. He spent about a fortnight there, and then, having received 70,000 pagodas, he rejoined Muzaffar Jang, and the two appeared before Tanjore in December 1749.

Here again Ranga Pillai shows the accepted version to be exceedingly erroneous. Malleson[2] makes him arrive before that city on November 7, when in fact he was still in the neighbourhood of Pondichery. The same writer descants upon the mortification of Dupleix at learning that his allies had diverged from the road to Trichinopoly to attack Tanjore. Nothing could be more inaccurate. Dupleix manifests the greatest interest in the Tanjore affair. He inquires eagerly of the diarist whether Chandâ Sâhib will really get from the Râjâ the half-crore he talks of; and himself writes to Chandâ Sâhib to express his pleasure at hearing he has settled with Udaiyârpâlaiyam and is advancing against Tanjore.[3]

On December 20 the news reached Pondichery that the allied troops had surrounded the city, and two days later that on December 17 the French

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[1] Corbett to Boscawen, July 14, 1748 (*P.R.O.*, *Adm.* 2—72, f. 207). He left behind 530 men (not 300, as Malleson says).

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 247. [3] pp. 271 and 280 *infra.*

under Duquesne had not only driven the enemy from an outpost but also captured one of the gates.[1] The current version places the latter event on December 28, apparently by a confusion of the New and Old styles. On this the Râjâ sought terms, but seems to have been so alarmed at the demands made that he suddenly attacked his enemies and is related to have driven them from the gate which they had been holding. Shortly after this he agreed to pay Chandâ Sâhib 70 lakhs of rupees and to make a donation of 6,60,000 rupees apparently to 'Abd-ul-rahmân's sepoys. On this Chandâ Sâhib's army withdrew to a short distance from the walls.[2]

It has usually been supposed that Chandâ Sâhib continued in the neighbourhood of Tanjore owing to the guile of the Râjâ who, as far as possible, delayed the payments which he had agreed to make; and that this delay brought about the second beleaguerment of the place in the month of February.[3] The delays of the Râjâ were probably considerable and intentional. But it was his old passion for conquest that held Chandâ Sâhib at Tanjore and made him besiege the place again. On February 10 Dupleix interviewed a confidential messenger, charged according to oriental custom with proposals which their author preferred not to write down. The first of these was to the effect that Chandâ Sâhib had only refrained from capturing

[1] pp. 312 and 321–322 *infra*.
[2] pp. 334, 344, 399 and 352–353 *infra*. [3] Malleson, *op. cit.*, p. 248.

Tanjore out of consideration for the Marathas; but now that news had come of the Sâhu Râjâ's death, he proposed capturing the place and begged the orders of Dupleix, to both the French troops and the sepoys, that they should abstain from plunder.

That Dupleix should have concurred in this singular proposal, provided it did not arouse the hostility of the Marathas, can surprise no one. He himself proposed the same thing to the French Company not long after. However he warned his ally to take the place by capitulation rather than by storm, for in the latter case he was sure the sepoys could not be restrained from plunder.[1] Chandâ Sâhib, we know, refused to allow Goupil to attack the city on February 24; and it appears then that Tanjore was saved from capture neither by the deceitful wiles of the king, nor by the panic which the approach of Nâsîr Jang was to cause, but by the fact that Chandâ Sâhib was anxious to secure the treasure in the city for himself, and that he feared the consequences of a storm.

This curious incident shows that the French, no more than ourselves, had as yet converted their sepoys into a dependable force. In a previous volume the diarist has alluded to the misconduct of an English commandant of sepoys, Bikkan Khân.[2] In the present volume he illustrates the attitude taken up by the principal French commandant, Shaikh 'Abd-ul-rahmân or Muzaffar Khân. We

[1] pp. 362-363 *infra*.

[2] See Vol. IV, pp. 120, etc.

find him committing people to custody without authority.[1] Razâ Sâhib complains of his demands.[2] His troops are disinclined to march.[3] He intrigues with Chandâ Sâhib to deprive Imâm Sâhib's son of his father's jaghirs and to secure them for himself.[4] He obtains from the Râjâ of Tanjore a bond for a large amount; and though several persons, including himself, admit its issue, the bond disappears and cannot be produced in spite of all Dupleix' inquiries; but Dupleix fears to punish him because of the approach of Nâsîr Jang.[5]

This last event had been long foretold and long discredited. In November 1749, news of his preparations had almost made Muzaffar Jang abandon his enterprise and endeavour to secure his own countries by withdrawing thither and (probably) making his submission.[6] But a month later Dupleix was still refusing to believe in the reality of the danger; he thought that Nâsîr Jang was too deeply involved in hostility with the Marathas to make so distant an excursion which would leave his northern territories exposed to their raids.[7] Even at the close of January he and Chandâ Sâhib were buoying themselves up with the hope that Nâsîr Jang's followers would prove friends of Muzaffar Jang;[8] not until news was received of emissaries coming from the Subahdar with offers of terms, did Dupleix

[1] p. 193 *infra*.
[2] pp. 188-189 *infra*.
[3] p. 232 *infra*.
[4] p. 299 *infra*.
[5] pp 399 and 404 *infra*.
[6] pp. 238-239 *infra*.
[7] p. 292 *infra*.
[8] p. 359 *infra*.

really apprehend trouble, and even then he chiefly feared a settlement in which French interests would be disregarded. His message was that he, Chandâ Sâhib and Muzaffar Jang were as three heads under one hat and that no peace should be made without his consent.[1]

The actual entrance of Nâsîr Jang into the province, preceded by Morâri Râo and a cloud of Marathas[2], took Dupleix by surprise. He had not credited the repeated warnings he had received, and had ascribed Muzaffar Jang's uneasiness to discontent with the subordinate part he was playing before Tanjore. A day or two after he had learnt of the invasion, he heard that Chandâ Sâhib had hastily broken up his camp and was flying for shelter towards Pondichery. La Touche, the French commandant, described the alarm of the two leaders as extreme.[3]

At last on March 13 Chandâ Sâhib reached Pondichery. He proposed to lie within shelter of the town until the great host of the enemy should have eaten up the country and be compelled to withdraw by hunger. The diarist actually feared to interpret to Dupleix his panic-stricken words, and it was with difficulty that Dupleix succeeded in reanimating his uncertain courage to the point of moving towards the invaders. His son, however, displayed a worthier spirit, asking, in reply to his

[1] p. 367 *infra*. [2] pp. 372 and 377 *infra*.
[3] pp. 381-385 *infra*.

mother's prayer that he should remain in Pondichery, 'What could be worse than to remain idle here while my father goes to battle?'[1]

Nâsîr Jang however was offering terms. The volume closes with reports of the offers made by his *bakhshi* to the two pretenders. He was, it seems, prepared to give both of them jaghirs and to repay their debt to the French. Dupleix himself expressed satisfaction and told his allies that he approved whether they decided for peace or war. Neither he nor anyone else had the least conception that they were on the eve of four years' relentless though unacknowledged war with that nation which they had just foiled so completely both at Pondichery and Madras.

Yet there again they had had ample warning. The peace of Aix-la-Chapelle had restored Madras to the English. The rendition of the place was carried out in August 1749, and the old inhabitants, whom Dupleix had made every effort to bring to Pondichery, flocked back to their ruined homes as gladly as though the whole fort and town had belonged to each one of them.[2] English prestige had been dimmed; but evidently it had not disappeared. But Dupleix looked to their total extinction. They had provoked the Tanjoreans by a very ill-judged attack in favour of Shâhji. Chandâ Sâhib would appear as the French nominee for the Nawâbship. So early as July 1749, in one

[1] p. 394 *infra*. [2] pp. 159, etc., *infra*.

of those irritable speeches which Dupleix was wholly unable to restrain, he declared that Maratha and Muslim would unite to expel the English from the Coromandel Coast.

Nor had Dupleix the prudence to conceal his designs. After the victory of Ambûr, the French received grants of territory bordering on that which the English held round Fort St. David. As if that was not enough, Dupleix endeavoured to retain control over St. Thomé as a post of observation from which to watch and inconvenience the English at Madras. He procured from Razâ Sâhib an order empowering one of Madame's relatives to seize the former amaldâr of St. Thomé. This relative was a priest named Antonio Noronha, a man of loose life and intriguing spirit, who had already acted as intelligencer to Dupleix, and who was ten years later as Bishop of Halicarnassus to act as political agent to the unfortunate Lally. He was appointed amaldâr of St. Thomé by Chandâ Sâhib at Madame's special request. But St. Thomé was also an ancient Portuguese settlement, where, although all political organization had long vanished, the half-caste Portuguese who dwelt there still claimed some shadowy rights of independence. In order to secure this additional support of his scheme, Dupleix persuaded the Viceroy of Goa to name his relative Procurator of the Portuguese at St. Thomé.

These measures were hostile to the English, so intended and so understood. They retaliated. In September Boscawen seized St. Thomé under a

grant from Muhammad 'Alî; Noronha's correspondence which was discovered, proved his unfriendly intentions against the English; he was carried off to Europe by Boscawen, and the English understood how much they had to fear from Dupleix.

In September they had, as we have just seen, obtained from Muhammad 'Alî a grant of St. Thomé. That action, followed as it was by the seizure and deportation of Chandâ Sâhib's amaldâr, was, one would have supposed, a challenge of the plainest nature. It was followed in the next month by the despatch of a body of men to Muhammad 'Alî at Trichinopoly. In fact the English learnt Dupleix' lesson with greater promptness than they have usually been credited with. They saw at a glance the advantages which would accrue to the French from the establishment of a French Nawâb. They also saw the advantages that the English would obtain if they assisted in the overthrow of the usurper; and just as Dupleix had despatched d'Auteuil to help Chandâ Sâhib in the belief that there would be no serious fighting, so too did the Governor of St. David's, Charles Floyer, send help to Muhammad 'Alî, confident that at Nâsîr Jang's coming the rebellion would collapse with hardly a struggle. This was the motive which led them to reject the overtures which Chandâ Sâhib made to them in October, even after the affair of St. Thomé. They did all in their power to hasten the coming of Nâsîr Jang. They secured a further grant from Muhammad 'Alî for the lands on their boundary

where the French had set up their flags, occupied them, and pulled the flags down. To the angry letters which Dupleix' intrigues obtained from Goa about St. Thomé, they coolly replied that that town had long ceased to be a dependency of Portugal or to fly the flag. When Nâsîr Jang at last arrived in the Carnatic, they sent Lawrence to join him with a body of troops.

This was not what Dupleix had expected. He had hoped they would look on quietly while he established a new Nawâb in the Carnatic, and encircled their settlements with French territory. He had supposed they would swallow whole so large a mouthful as a Portuguese St. Thomé under the government of the nephew of Madame Dupleix. But with an admirable common sense, they declined to be led away into subtle discussions of international right. St. Thomé had not been Portuguese for 50 years. Chandâ Sâhib's grants were all invalid for he had become Nawâb by an act of rebellion against the existing and legitimate authorities. Dupleix, they said, could not shelter behind the technicalities of Moghul custom after himself overturning it. They stood forth therefore as the defenders of the old system against him who had subverted it It cannot be denied that Dupleix' schemes threatened the existence of English trade; hence the justification of the resistance which they had offered by their political, and were now about to offer by their military action.

ÂNANDA RANGA PILLAI'S DIARY.

OCTOBER 1748.

Friday, October 18.[1]—The Governor received the following news this morning :—

The light of the burning timber, etc., at Ariyânkuppam was seen at seven o'clock last night. I had already told the Governor when we were upstairs that the English had set fire to their camp and were retreating ; and news came at six o'clock this morning that they had withdrawn to the Reddi's Choultry. The Governor at once sent five or six hundred sepoys, European troopers and Muhammadan peons, under M. Duquesne, ordering him to send word how matters stood and where the English army was. So M. Duquesne and the rest marched to Ariyânkuppam, hoisted our flag there, and sent out scouts to find the enemy ; then learning that the English were moving towards Fort St. David by way of Tûkkanâmpâkkam, they reported this to the Governor. Thereon he drove out to Ariyânkuppam ; and, when he returned at eleven o'clock, he sent for me and said : 'None of the Nayinâr's peons are there yet. Can't you send out and have it seen to ? Must you wait till I give orders about everything ? Tell the Nayinâr to

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[1] *6th Arppisi, Vibhava.*

send his men at once.' So I sent for Periyanna Nayinâr and told him to send men immediately. So he sent four match-lock people.

The Governor then told me to proclaim by beat of tom-tom to-morrow morning that the people of our out-villages might return. So sending for Periyanna Nayinâr, I told him the Governor had ordered tom-tom men to be sent to Ariyânkuppam, Olukarai, Murungampâkkam, Alisapâkkam, Kâlâpêttai and the other out-villages to order the inhabitants to return and practise their crafts at Pondichery as of old.

The Governor also ordered rations to be issued from the liquor-godown, and told me to procure a good stock of grain. I said I would get as much as possible.

Then letters of congratulations arrived from Mîr Jalâl-ud-dîn Khân, the killedar of Valudâvûr, and Mîr Husain Khân, the old killedar; and I reported the contents to the Governor. But he was not pleased, and told me carelessly that I could answer them. [The messengers] expected to receive presents, but he only said, 'Send them off, send them off.' So I wrote answers and sent them away with five rupees each.

All the English ships which were at anchor north of the Pondichery roads set sail and came to anchor off Vîrâmpattanam and Ariyânkuppam. Two put out to sea, two sailed to Fort St David, and the rest lie at anchor.

Saturday, October 19.[1]—When I went to the Governor this morning, he asked if I had ordered the tom-tom to be beaten in the villages. I said, 'I sent word yesterday evening. By now it must have been done in Alisapâkkam, Ariyânkuppam, Olukarai, Murungampâkkam, the out-villages and Kâlâpêttai. We shall hear this afternoon.'—'Very good,' he replied.

Then he said, 'Post 100 of Malayappan's peons, 100 of Shaikh Ibrâhîm's sepoys and 100 of 'Abd-ul-rahmân's sepoys, 300 in all, at the thirty stages between here and Madras, ten at each stage, so that the Madras road may not be disturbed. Any English found there must be seized, and shot if they attempt to escape. If they come in strength, say fifty or hundred together, let our people assemble and fire on them; and let our goods and people be carefully guarded.' I agreed; but when I wrote out a list of the stages between Madras and Pondichery, I found there were thirty-one; so I sent 100 of 'Abd-ul-rahmân's sepoys, 100 of Shaikh Ibrâhîm's and 110 of Malayappan's peons, 310 altogether, giving each batch a chit showing the stage at which they were posted. They were also given passes. Each man was to receive twenty rounds of ammunition. Shaikh 'Abd-ul-rahmân's sepoys said they had their rounds, but Shaikh Ibrâhîm's had only ten each, and said they would

[1] *7th [Arppisi], Vibhava.* The transcript has 'Purattâsi' by error.

get ten more each, stay the night at my choultry, and march to-morrow morning according to their orders. So saying, 'Abd-ul-rahmân's and Shaikh Ibrâhîm's sepoys departed. Malayappan's peons complained that they had their orders but could get no cartridges; so I told them to go, promising them the cartridges to-morrow morning. The orders were that Malayappan's men were to go first, then Shaikh Ibrâhîm's, and lastly 'Abd-ul-rahmân's. But the two detachments of sepoys alone reached my choultry, and Malayappan's peons stayed behind.

Vâsudêvan's son asked the Governor for permission to plant a betel-garden. The Governor replied, 'No trees or houses can be allowed inside the Bound-hedge. Except field-crops, nothing can be allowed. The gardens which were destroyed but began to grow again have been rooted up. They must be ploughed and sown. No betel-gardens can be allowed within the Bound-hedge—only outside. Hitherto betel has been sold at nine leaves a cash; it may now be sold at seven.'[1]

The Governor told M. Delarche that the people in the town were not to be allowed out till a list had been made of them, and then, when they wished to go out, they were to receive a pass to show on their return. Travellers tell me that the peons on the road have received orders accordingly.

[1] Betel was a Government monopoly everywhere on the Coromandel Coast, either farmed out to some private merchant or managed directly on Government account. Cf. Vol. iv, p. 48 *supra*.

Sunday, October 20.[1]—When I went to the Governor this morning, he said, 'Two-hundred of Shaikh Ibrâhîm's and 'Abd-ul-rahmân's sepoys have set out according to my orders of yesterday. See how many cartridges Malayappan's peons have, and bring me a note showing how many cartridges will be needed to complete them to twenty rounds each.' Just then M. Law came; and the Governor said to him, 'See how many cartridges must be issued to Malayappan's peons, and give them the necessary number, and send them off. The gate-people were ordered last night not to let sepoys or poligars' peons carry their muskets out of the town, so tell the gate-people to let these pass, and despatch them.' M. Law accordingly called them, found that they had only 650 cartridges, gave them the balance, and, having examined their flints, sent them away. Including the sepoys sent last night, all the 310 men have now left for the thirty-one stages. Before they set out, I repeated to the sepoys who left yesterday and to Malayappan's peons who went to-day the Governor's orders, that they should occupy the thirty-one stages between Madras and Pondichery; that, if the English attacked them in force, fifty or sixty of our people should seize and send them in; that, if they ran away, they should be shot, and that our goods and men passing to and fro should be secured and

[1] *8th Arppisi, Vibhava.*

protected. Though the Governor objected so last night to sending Shaikh Ibrâhîm's and Malayappan's peons, he said nothing more about it this morning. This seems due to my good luck. I have heard no other important news.

Two Brâhman boys brought a letter from Vakîl Subbayyan written from the camp at Ûtatûr. He says, 'Muhammad 'Alî Khân came to join the Nawâb's camp on its way to Trichinopoly, this side of Vâlikondâpuram. There Husain Sâhib gave the Nawâb a nazar of 2,000 rupees for Vâlikondâpuram, and gave a feast costing as much more. The Poligar of Udaiyârpâlaiyam agreed to pay 40,000 pagodas, half to be paid down and the rest in three months. Then the army moved towards Trichinopoly. Tittagudi Chella Kanakarâya Pillai welcomed the Nawâb with a nazar of 200 pagodas and gave a feast costing 300 pagodas. When he heard that the enemies of Pondichery had retreated with great loss, Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn Khân said in darbâr before Sampâti Râo and others that he had always thought French valiant, and the English impotent. So those who took the English part have their faces blackened and now speak against them. I spoke with Muttu Mallâ Reddi, when he hastened to join the camp at Vriddhachalam.'

Monday, October 21.[1]—When I went to the Governor's to-day, he asked the name of my father-

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[1] *9th Arppisi, Vibhava.*

in-law. I said, 'Sêshâdri Pillai.' Then he asked if he was the Poligar of Chingleput. I said, 'Yes.' He asked, 'Then how is it that he joined the English, helped Peddu Nâyakkan, and gave him news from Pondichery? What harm have we done him?'—'Sir,' I replied, 'Sêshâdri Pillai and Peddu Nâyakkan have long been close friends. Moreover he is a friend of other poligars and Muhammadans, and no one speaks ill of him. He is accountant rather than poligar[1]; ask the Muhammadans, poligars, merchants or even ryots about him. He will have nothing to do with quarrelsome people. I am amazed to hear that such a man helps the English and opposes you. I know him too well. If he is in the least to blame, I will be responsible for him. Just as I have been falsely accused, so now they have planned in this way to cast blame on me and rouse your anger. May I be punished if there is the least truth in the story! But, my Lord, enquire yourself into this matter and punish the guilty.' When I boldly spoke thus, he asked if he and Peddu Nâyakkan were very close friends. I answered, 'All women are the same—mothers, sisters and even wives. But a man feels love only on seeing his wife, not other women. So with friends also—it is a matter of affection only. You

[1] *i.e.* responsible rather for revenue than for political or police matters.

know all things. All this is false.'—' You need not shout so,' he said, and went in.

Then Râjô Pandit came from the house of Chandâ Sâhib's son and said he wished to offer his congratulations. Without acknowledging them, he asked when Chandâ Sâhib would arrive. Râjô Pandit replied that Chandâ Sâhib had said he would write when he reached Sîrpi. The Governor observed that Badê Sâhib's son, who arrived two or three days ago, had said there was no news of Chandâ Sâhib's coming; that he believed the whole was a pack of lies; and that it was three months since he set out. Râjô Pandit replied that he had been hindered by 'Abid Sâhib's[1] illness and the rains, that he would now be more fortunate, and would soon reach Chittirakal whence he would write. But the Governor said, 'I don't believe it;' and went inside. Râjô Pandit departed, saying that the Governor cared little about Chandâ Sâhib's coming if he could not believe their words. Razâ Sâhib, who had sent a message to Madame by 'Abd-ul-rahmân, came at three o'clock, offered his congratulations, and went away. Qâdir 'Alî Khân, Badê Sâhib's son, also came and did the same.

To-day Madame ordered a hundred of her peons to post themselves along the roads, prevent Brâhmans from entering the Bound-hedge, hinder people from carrying away their money, and seize spies.

[1] 'Abid Sâhib was Chandâ Sâhib's son, who had been a fellow-prisoner with his father at Satâra.

I cannot say how great is the alarm, for men think they are like him who rejoiced at the drawing of a thorn out of his leg, but straightway had a splinter driven in.

Tuesday, October 22.[1]—When I went to the Governor's this morning, he asked if all available paddy and rice had been brought in. I said, 'Yes,' and then, having read to him the Choultry account, said, 'The English retired five days ago. We have to fetch in not only the Company's paddy at Villupuram, but three or four hundred garse as well.' He was rather angry that more grain had not come in; but I replied, 'The cadjan was sent only two days ago, and we cannot expect paddy at once. Nothing has been brought in for two months, as people feared they would be plundered going to and fro by the English camp. It is but three clear days since the English retreated; and now more will come in.'

He then sent for M. Cornet. As soon as he came, the Governor asked how much had been advanced for grain. He said the same as I had when I was asked; and the Governor said that three or four hundred garse of paddy were still needed and ordered him to advance the necessary pagodas; then, turning to me, he said, 'The Tamils and Muhammadans did nothing to help us during the siege. When they were asked for

[1] *10th Arppisi, Vibhava.*

paddy for the soldiers and sepoys defending the town, and for the coolies, instead of offering their paddy, they moved and hid it, as though sure that the English would conquer; and moreover they sold it secretly at a high price. When the oil-pressers' bullocks were seized for the soldiers' food, they cried aloud and complained to me. Why did they act so?' He further abused the Tamils; and added, 'The Tamils thought that the English would take Pondichery, and hoped to be able to cheat both the Company and the Europeans.' M. Cornet, who has no sense of justice, said to me, 'The Governor's words are true. What virtue have they shown?'—I said, 'I will tell you if you will hear me without anger.'—'Speak freely,' he said. So I went on, 'The Governor's words are true—that neither Tamils nor Muhammadans helped in the siege. But neither did the Europeans. What help did the Governor need? God, the Protector of the Universe, helped him, and he helped the rest. God created Monsieur Dupleix to protect the people of this town and those who dwell even at Arcot; so how can you say he needs the help of any? Besides, tell me what help the Europeans brought? There must have been 250 or 300 garse of paddy in the European quarter. The Tamils at all events gave some of the paddy which they had concealed. No other people were so serviceable. In the last two months, when the town was attacked by the English, and all abandoned

it, the Tamils supplied five garse a day—300 garse of paddy. Besides this, they gave 24 garse to the Company and the Governor. Moreover they allowed others at their request to come and live in their houses, while they themselves went elsewhere. Again, the Tamils' coconut-trees were cut down, but not one belonging to the European soldiers.[1] They are even willing to give up the houses of which a list is now being made. Will Europeans or Muhammadans do as much? None are so generous as the Tamils.' The Governor laughed when I quietly said this, and observed to M. Cornet that, when the Europeans were asked, they did not do so. I said, 'Surely the Governor does not mean only giving what is asked for; real charity consists in giving unasked. That is what the Tamils have done; they have not been lacking.' The Governor felt my words somewhat.

He then asked when the merchants would come to settle their accounts. I said they would come in ten days; and he told M. Cornet to settle the accounts as soon as they came. M. Cornet then said

[1] It was not unusual for soldiers to possess gardens of coconut trees, etc. In the *Fort St. David Consultations*, March 31, 1741, occurs a petition from a number of soldiers whose trees had been cut down in apprehension of a Maratha attack. 'Your petitioners humbly beseech your worship, etc. . . . to consider . . . the loss they are likely to sustain by having their trees cut down, the produce of which and the Company's pay have maintained your poor petitioners' families all this time, and now . . . . Your petitioners have no other dependance but only their bare pay . . . .' Compensation up to 1,000 pogodas was granted, to prevent discontent in the garrison. This was perhaps the motive for not cutting down the soldiers' trees at Pondichery.

that some coarse blue-cloth, etc., had been brought in. I said, 'About eighty yards of double-yarn cloth is ready, the Company's merchants have about 120 corge of coarse Pondichery cloth, and I have some coarse blue-cloth. The unbleached Udaiyârpâlaiyam long-cloths are being collected. When these have all been brought in, they may be entered in the merchants' accounts and receipts granted.'

I stood aside after saying this, and the Governor told me to get twenty draught-bullocks. I said I would do so. But he said, 'You say "yes", but you will take a month to get them. Have the Muhammadans' bullocks been taken?' I replied, 'Mîr Ghulâm Husain's bullocks have already been taken; and the Muhammadans have no more.' On this M. Cornet said, 'This proves what the Tamils are. They feared the English would take Pondichery; so they sent their bullocks away. Tamils are cowards.'—I answered, 'Sir, I may say that the Tamils are braver than you allege. Many kept their goods at home in confidence that the English would never take Pondichery, and those who fled were beaten and plundered. But the Europeans, expecting the English to take the outer fortifications, carried their goods into the Fort, and even changed rupees into pagodas at the rate of 360 the 100 pagodas. Moreover, lest the Fort should also be taken, they sought out brokers in order to procure bills of exchange. They so feared the enemy's fire

that all the coconut-trees in the town were cut down and laid on their house-tops with leaves, earth and cotton, to make them as safe as possible.[1] The Tamils ask what European except the Governor ventured out of doors; but the Tamils themselves did, and dwelt in houses covered only with flat tiles, putting their trust in God. Some even remained in Mîrâpalli.' When I thus contrasted the fear of the Europeans and the boldness of the Tamils, the Governor asked what had become of Kommanan who went out with M. Dulaurens' property. I said I did not know. 'But why do you hide it?' he asked; 'tell me freely.' M. Cornet also said it would look ill if I concealed my knowledge. I answered, 'How do I know whither the English people drove those who left this town, and where they lost their goods? How can I know where he is? But all knew of his going.' The Governor thinks that there is nothing under heaven I don't know; so he told M. Cornet that I knew not only where Kommanan was, but also where the townspeople were and even the inhabitants of the out-villages, adding, 'How can a Frenchman like M. Dulaurens suppose the English would capture the town, and send his wealth out with his writer? I have got him; he is helpless!' Thus saying, he went in. I then said to M. Cornet, 'How can I know anything about Kommana Mudali or the rest

[1] This was done as a protection against shells.

who went out by reason of the troubles?' I then went to the nut-godown and he went home.

When the Kârikâl runner wished to enter [the Fort], he was stopped and sent by the sepoys and the European at the gate to the Governor who asked him angrily why he came this way instead of that, and gave me the letter to be sent off at once. When I was going out with the letter, Tânappa Mudali went in. I don't know whether he had been sent for by the Governor or whether the Second had sent him. He stayed nearly half an hour. I have heard nothing else worth mention.

Wednesday, October 23.[1]—This morning I was ordered to write to His Highness Nâsîr Jang, Imâm Sâhib, Fatteh Singh, Raghôji Bhônsla and Chandâ Sâhib as follows:—'The English have been besieging Pondichery with forty ships and 10,000 men, for the last two months, continually firing thirty-six and twenty-four pound shots from their great guns, and shell also We replied, attacked their batteries with our military and sepoys, and drove them out. After losing 2,000 Europeans and numberless Carnatic and Muhammadan sepoys, and growing desperate, on a certain day from sunrise to sunset they constantly poured on the town shot and shell from their forty ships and from their batteries on the west, like the rain of a great tempest. Then, having done their

[1] *11th Arppisi, Vibhava.*

utmost, and weary with the loss of men, they abandoned all and fled by night. They were commanded by Mr. Boscawen. We send you this glad news, as, like God, you are our well-wisher.'

The letter to Imâm Sâhib contained this addition :—' Formerly Safdar 'Alî Khân presented M. Dumas with a *kalgi*, a *sarpech* set with precious stones, a lance, a cross-hilted dagger, a shield, a bow and arrows, and a drum ; and also gave him Alisapâkkam and other villages Three months ago we wrote that you should get a similar present for us from Nâsîr Jang. It should be got and sent at once.'[1] This letter was written and sent to Arcot, together with the others, to be forwarded thence by messengers on two separate occasions. They were carried by Varadappan and Chidambaram.

Moreover I was ordered to write to Chandâ Sâhib's wife and 'Alî Dôst Khân's wife, desiring them to return as the troubles were over.

M. Changeac who is hastening hither from Mahé, wrote to the Governor when he reached Tindivanam ; I was told to write to him, sending a dhooli to fetch him in, and fifty rupees for his expenses. I sent them accordingly.

Jemadar 'Abd-ul-rahmân set out at ten o'clock to-day with a hundred sepoys and twenty or thirty horsemen for Villiyanallûr, burnt it, Singarikôyil, Tirukkânji, and other places, and returned at seven

[1] See Vol. V, pp. 174, etc., *supra*.

o'clock this evening with a Brâhman of Singarikôyil, one of Tirukkânji and a Reddi, whose name I do not know. He reported the news to the Governor, and went home, having lodged the prisoners in the Fort. Only three were taken, as the rest had already fled; otherwise many would have been seized. There is not a man to be found in or near Tindivanam.

M. Delarche gave the Governor this morning a list of the houses the owners of which had fled by reason of the troubles. Exclusive of huts, there are 166 brick and mud houses worth more than 20 pagodas each, valued by the Governor at 10,041 pagodas. He kept the list. We shall see what happens.

Europeans and lascars have been sent to fetch planks and ropes from Âlambarai and Sadras. The Governor was very busy writing his Europe letters, so there is little news. People are complaining because the Brâhmans have not been re-admitted. It is hard to go in and out of the town; and all men are greatly troubled.

'Abd-ul-rahmân Khân Sâhib, Anwar-ud-dîn Khân's son-in-law and Killedar of Madura, sent me four months ago a clock and 15 rupees, desiring me to have it repaired. I gave it with the 15 rupees to Muttu to be repaired; but the siege delayed matters. I have now sent it with a letter by peon Tulasirâm; I have paid him batta up till now and for his journey. I also wrote to Lâlâpêttai, telling Arunâchala Chetti and others to come.

At eight o'clock to-night, Tillai Maistry and Tândava Maistry came by the Governor's orders to get cowles for the tank-diggers.[1] I wrote them out for Kuppan and Râman of that caste, promising the arrears of wages and daily payments in future. I sent them by mason Nâchiyappan and a peon.

Thursday, October 24.[2]—To-day, a letter of compliments was written and sent to Mîr Asad Sâhib of Chêtpattu in reply to his congratulations on our success over the English. Moreover the Governor ordered a letter to be written to Muhammad Tavakkal as follows:—'I could not understand your letters of the 22nd and 24th September; but I learn that 'Abd-ul-jalîl joined the English with 400 or 500 horse and 2,000 soldiers, and helped them against us. You will see what happens.' It was written and sent accordingly. The Governor had no leisure for conversation, as he was busy with his Europe letters.

As the retreat of the English a week ago was not duly celebrated at the time, to-day every Frenchman, the councillors, officers, other gentlemen, their ladies and others were invited to a feast. A French poem has been written in honour of Monsieur Dupleix' valour and his victory over Mr. Boscawen, the English Commander; there was a dance to-night and the poem was recited with great

[1] These men were needed for the works which Dupleix set about repairing as soon as the siege was over.

[2] *12th Arppisi, Vibhava.*

applause. Before and after dinner up to seven o'clock in the evening, there was a great table at which both ladies and gentlemen played at hazard for stakes amounting to four or six thousand rupees. When they were at dinner, there were five salutes of twenty-one guns when the King's health was given. Unworthy as they are to eat with Frenchmen, yet the English prisoners also were invited to sit at table and dine with the rest. The supper was like the dinner, save that, as it was night and as the salutes had already been fired, there were no more guns. After supper at ten o'clock there was a ball which continued till four o'clock. Then all went home.

At noon, Jemadar 'Abd-ul-rahmân and 'Alî Khân went to the Governor and said, 'We have been here four years and a half, and our wives, children and relations are in our own country.[1] We came here because there was war between you and the English; and as we have eaten your salt, we have fought without flinching, until the enemy has been beaten. If you will be pleased to permit it, we will go and live in peace at home for five or six months, and return whenever you summon us.' To this request, the Governor answered, 'It is

[1] *i.e.*, Malabar. I have found no trace of sepoys coming from Mahé in 1743; but 200 were sent in May 1742 (Mahé to Pondichery, September 21, 1742, *P.R.* No. 60 f. 753), and one company was returned in 1743 (Pondichery to Mahé, October 22, 1743, *ibid.* f. 601). The news of war did not reach India until September 1744, but it was well-known that war was likely.

twenty-five years since I came here from Europe, and I also wish to go home. We will all go at the same time.' When the Governor thus put them off, they said, 'M. Barthélemy wishes to destroy our mosque at Madras; and our people there desired a week's delay in which to write to you and take your orders. As a mosque ought not to be destroyed, please write to M. Barthélemy about it.'[1] Môham Pattan, Madame's lame Portuguese-speaking dubâsh, told me this, adding that they mean to speak to Madame about it.

The Governor sent for me this evening and said, 'The Company needs much paddy, so you must buy all you can. Send bullocks to bring in the paddy bought at Villupuram.' He then asked where Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn Khân was. I told him that he had gone to Trichinopoly, and added that I would send bullocks to bring the paddy from Villupuram and try to procure a large supply.

He then asked where 'Abd-ul-jalîl was. I said I had heard of his going to Tiruvannâmalai, but nothing more. He then asked where Muttu Mallâ Reddi was. I said that he had gone to the camp. The Governor continued, 'Don't breathe a word about him, but watch for his coming; you need say

[1] Dupleix insisted on the destruction of the mosque, and ordered Barthélemy, on the least disturbance, to seize the ring-leaders and disarm the rest. In his letter to Barthélemy of October 26 (Nazelle, *Dupleix et la défense de Pondichéry*, p. 363), he says, 'J'ai parlé à Abdoul Raman de la conduite de ses cipayes; il m'a paru touché et doit écrire en conséquence.'

nothing to me, but send sepoys and be sure you take him, or, if that can't be done, shoot him. I shall give no more orders — this is enough. If his name is whispered, he may not come, and then I shall blame you. So keep the matter secret, watch well, and catch him.'

Then M. du Bausset, who was standing by the Governor, said to me, 'M. de La Haye[1] writes from Kâlâpêttai that the poligar there was seized yesterday by the Gingee Killedar's people in the English jungles, and has been put in irons. Have you heard anything about it, and is it true? If so, the Gingee Killedar should be written to. When I told the Governor, he said I was to speak to you about it.' I replied, 'Muttu Mallâ Reddi of Tindivanam and the poligar of Kâlâpêttai are cousins on the fathers' side. I heard that Lakshmana Tantri had been seized, beaten and chained because he served the Pondichery people and so on. I have heard nothing about the poligar of Kâlâpêttai. I will enquire.' He continued, 'M. de La Haye also says that three charcoal kilns have been plundered; but the Governor says that nothing has been stopped.

[1] There was a Company's servant of this name, holding the rank of either *Commis* or *Sous-marchand*; but it is not easy to see what he could have been doing at Kâlâpêttai. Besides him, however, there was a surgeon of the same name; and surgeons often went out to attend to local potentates. For an amusing example of this, where the surgeon's treatment would appear to have been somewhat drastic, see *Country Correspondence*, 1748, p. 35, where the Faujdar of Chidambaram complains of a poultice, which, when applied his legs, turned his gold ring white and made his tongue so sore that he could not drink.

Enquire and let me know.' I said I would do so, went to the nut-godown, and thence came home.

Friday, October 25.[1]—When I went to the Governor's this morning, I heard the following:—Sometime ago Madame seized the goods which Appu Mudali was sending out on account of the troubles, and delivered them to the Governor, who imprisoned him for five or six days for alarming the town. Appu was sent for at nine o'clock this morning, and all his goods which were in the Governor's house were restored to him. Appu took them to the Governor, and showed him that 141 pagodas and some silver anklets, necklaces, etc., worth 100 pagodas, were missing. He then took his property home.

In order to dissuade 'Abd-ul-rahmân and others from taking leave, the Governor told 'Abd-ul-rahmân that he had praised him in his letter to the King and asked him to write a letter himself. He sent for gold-speckled paper[2] and wrote a French letter, which 'Abd-ul-rahmân signed in Persian. He then dismissed him, saying that he would send it to Europe. 'Abd-ul-rahmân was rejoiced at this, and, going out, boasted throughout the town that he had sent a letter to the French King and that all the Pondichery letters would henceforward be written by him. His pride was beyond words. Till now he has been

[1] *13th Arppisi, Vibhava.*

[2] Such as was commonly used in writing to Nawâbs or men in high position. See letter from Imâm Sâhîb in the *Lettres et Conventions* p. 105.

saying that, in spite of his great efforts which had secured the victory of the French, he was neither treated respectfully nor properly rewarded, and that he would take leave and depart. Only yesterday he and 'Alî Khân asked the Governor's permission to return home; and now the Governor has told him of his being praised in the letter to the King of France and recommended for rich presents; and he has been asked to write a letter himself. But I think the Governor will write that he himself did all the labour and secured the victory. Has he ever before praised others and sent their letters? I might believe it if any one had ever been so treated before.[1] Such is my opinion, and I think the Governor remains of the same mind; but God alone knows.

The Governor then sent for me and asked if Tarwâdi had not come yet. I said, 'No.' He then asked what was the news from outside. I said, 'I hear that those who betrayed the Pondichery people to the English when they encamped here, and those who helped the English with coolies, etc., fear greatly that the French will extend their bounds to Gingee. The chief men of the villages who went to

[1] Ranga Pillai is needlessly cynical in this passage. Dupleix in his letter to the Company gave 'Abd-ul-rahmân and his brother ample praise, and requested for them 'une lettre du Ministre avec une commission du Roi qui les déclare commandants en chef de tous les maures, cipayes et autres de cette espèce', also medals and a handsome present of arms. The Company sent the commissions and medals, but the arms were not handsome enough for Dupleix' purpose. See Dupleix' letters to the Company of October 21, 1748 (printed by Nazelle, *op. cit.*, p. 340) and of October 3, 1750.

and fro helping the English have fled in great fear.' When I spoke thus, the Governor said, 'Is that all? I think there is worse still in store for them.'

The Governor then told me to prepare a list of presents worth about 100 pagodas for Perumukkal Miyân Sâhib and get them from M. Cornet; and also to write a letter of thanks saying that his kindness in helping those who came from Mahé and sending them to Madras would never be forgotten[1]. I said I would do so and came away.

The Governor sent for me this evening and told me to write a letter of compliment to Murtazâ 'Alî Khân of Vellore, and give it to 'Abd-ul-rahmân. He then read a French letter brought to him by two Christians from Vâla Mârtânda Râjâ of Travancore; and he told me to write a reply in Tamil. The Râjâ's letter said, 'We were greatly troubled when we heard that the English had attacked you with their army. If we had had ships, we would have helped you with all our heart and sent a large army. Even now we are ready to send what men we can. God will bless you with the glory of driving the English army away.' Thus they wrote with other compliments. Having read this, the Governor told me to answer the Râjâ in Tamil with compliments that his letter gave a thousand times more pleasure than the offered help; and added, 'Say, as you know how to do, that the English

[1] Cf. Vol. V, p. 399 *supra*.

attacked us, lost heavily, and ran away, being unable to endure more.' I wrote a Tamil letter accordingly, sealed it, took a copy of it, and put it ready to be sent by their men to-morrow.

Then the Governor said that Chandâ Sâhib's son wanted to go to his country and asked me about Chandâ Sâhib's coming. I said that I had heard nothing beyond what I had heard before—that he was reported to be coming; but we should not hear immediately because of the rains. On this, he went in, and I went to the nut-godown.

Mîr Yâdgâr and Muhammad Saiyid came with a letter purporting to be written by Murtazâ 'Alî Khân offering to send troops; but the Governor answered that they were not needed. 'Abd-ul-rahmân, who has now become a great man, got Gôvinda Râo released on his agreeing to pay 1,000 pagodas at a fixed time; the messengers got permission to take him away with them; and I wrote a letter to Murtazâ 'Alî Khân saying that he had been delivered to 'Abd-ul-rahmân. I gave them this answer, and they took leave of the Governor, proposing to depart to-morrow. Every Muhammadan in the town knows that these men are Razâ 'Alî Khân's people and are wandering about in fear of Murtazâ 'Alî Khân. I also know it. But although I knew that they had concocted this letter on account of Gôvinda Râo, yet as the Governor's wife is employing 'Abd-ul-rahmân and as the Governor only does what his wife says, I could say nothing.

But I might say the same of all that happens. As the times go, a man is lucky to keep himself out of harm's way; and how then can he take the part of others? God is our only help.

When I went to the Governor's this morning, he gave the letter for Vanji Vâla Mârtânda Varmâ, Râjâ of Travancore, to the two Christians waiting and sent them away, telling me to give them 20 rupees. I got the money from Parasurâma Pillai, gave it to the Christians, and sent them off.

According to the Governor's orders of yesterday, I drew up a list of the present for Miyân Sâhib of Perumukkal, got it signed by the Governor, and sent it to M. Cornet. The presents and the letter are ready and I shall send them to-morrow. Miyân Sâhib's present is as follows:—

Scarlet broad-cloth	2 pieces.
Red velvet	5 yards.
Green velvet	5 yards.
Two-coloured broad-cloth ...	3 yards.
Two framed mirrors worth ...	2 pagodas.
Hungary water...	6 flasks.
Ditto fine	6 flasks.

These presents were packed ready to be sent.

I heard to-day that Madame sent for Râmu Reddi of Villiyanallûr and spoke with him; I don't know what about, but I shall learn in a couple of days. Some wonderful matter, no doubt! Perhaps the Fort St. David spies and the camping of the troops. But I shall learn presently.

This afternoon the Governor sent for me; before I reached the *Gouvernement*, I met him driving out, but he did not see me. Then Râjô Pandit set out. He said to me, 'I have a pass for a palankin, ten peons and a bullock. Razâ Sâhib asked permission to go home, but the Governor said he must pay his debt first. Razâ Sâhib answered that he would send Mîr Diyânat-ul-lah and Râghava Pandit to get the money, pay it in five or six days and then go.' Thinking that this must be what Madame and Jemadar 'Abd-ul-rahmân had been so busy about for the last four days, I bade him farewell. Râjô Pandit added that Razâ Sâhib had offered to pledge his jewels and redeem them afterwards, but the Governor said that he was going to Europe and so could not keep the jewels in his possession; Razâ Sâhib however was displeased that the Governor should have spoken so harshly, as he had waited till news of Chandâ Sâhib's coming was constantly expected. I said nothing to this, and sent him away.

When the Governor came in at six o'clock this evening, I went to him. Seeing me, he came out with a scrap of paper taken from among some others [?] with two or three lines of writing on it, and said, 'I hear the English are getting many bullock-loads of paddy at Tiruvândârkôyil. Send peons to bring them in here; the goods shall not be seized, and the men shall receive their price. I am going to let Alisapâkkam and the other out-villages; so send for the renters and ask them to have the

lands well-ploughed. I shall then appoint overseers; find out proper persons.'—'I will', I said, and came away.

I then sent for Muttukumarappa Mudali and Vaidyanâtha Mudali, the renters of Olukarai, and told them what the Governor had said. They replied, 'That is right, as the troubles have hindered cultivation.' I also told them to inform Tânappa Mudali of what the Governor had said about Ariyân-kuppam and Alisapâkkam. They said they had already told him and that he would go to the Governor to-morrow morning about it. I sent for Vîrâ Nâyakkan at ten o'clock to-night about the out-villages and Murungampâkkam; he said that he and Kumara Pillai would come and talk about it to-morrow.

About ten or eleven o'clock last night, letters were despatched to the French King, the Ministers and the Company, to the following effect:—'Mr. Boscawen, the Rear-Admiral, arrived from England with twenty-two ships and was joined by the ships of Mr. Griffin, the Commodore. He also had sepoys from Bombay and Tellicherry, Carnatic sepoys, and Moghuls from the subah of Arcot under 'Abd-ul-jalîl. He besieged Pondichery for two months, and on Tuesday, October 8, they fired the whole day from the ships and from the batteries in the west, a storm of shot and shell. By our answering fire and attacks, a Dutch captain who came to help the English, and 600 men were killed and wounded. They also

lost about 960 Europeans. Unable to hold out any longer, they set fire to their camp on Thursday, October 17.' To carry this news to the King of France, the Governor has sent M.de Kerjean, his sister's son, and a Padre named the Abbé de Fages[1] who came from Europe to visit this country and write its history, and who also witnessed the fight. The Governor gave them the letters, and sent them to Madras with orders to embark on the ship that is going to Europe by way of Mascareigne. They received the Europe letter and set out for Madras. M. Selle who came from Mascareigne with M. de La Bourdonnais' squadron is to command the vessel. If, by God's favour, these men reach Europe, undoubtedly the glory of Monsieur Dupleix, Governor-General, will shine like the sun.

Sunday, October 27.[2]—When I went to the Governor's this morning, he had a letter from Najîb-ul-lah Khân, son of Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn Khân by a concubine, congratulating him on his victory over the English, and reporting the capture of Vêttavalam. The Governor told me to write a complimentary reply about the fight with the English and their retreat, adding that 'Abd-ul-jalîl could explain everything as he assisted the English and witnessed the fighting. I wrote the reply accordingly and despatched it.

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[1] He wrote the well-known *Relation du Siège de Pondichéry*: Dupleix to the Company, October 21, 1748 (Nazelle, *Op. cit.*, p. 337).

[2] *15th Arppisi, Vibhava.*

Among the letters from Madras was one from Shaikh Daulat Madâr, an insignificant fellow, congratulating the Governor on his victory, with a similar letter for Madame. The Governor asked who he was. I said I did not know. There was no other news.

Mîr Yâdgâr and Muhammad Saiyid, those two evil men who have deceived the Governor, went away to-day with Gôvinda Râo. They are really Razâ 'Alî Khân's people who ran away for fear of Murtazâ 'Alî Khân; but they pretended to belong to Murtazâ 'Alî Khân and produced false letters to get Gôvinda Râo released. The Muhammadans with them say that they went away so quickly for fear of being found out. Hitherto men have never been given up to the Muhammadans; but it has been done now. That is all the news. I hear that the Governor of Fort St. David is angry with Rangappa Nâyakkan and Venkatâchala Nâyakkan[1] for seizing Malrâjâ and putting him in irons, and asked who gave them permission to seize and plunder people.

Monday, October 28.[2]—The Governor called me when I went to him this morning and told me to write to Chandâ Sâhib as follows:—'Your wife, 'Alî Dôst Khân's wife, and others went away against my will by reason of the troubles; so in

[1] The first was Chief Dubâsh, and the second a 'Commandant' of peons, at Fort St. David.

[2] *16th Arppisi, Vibhava.*

order to get them back, I stopped your son, using my loan to you as a pretext, merely in order to prevent his departure.' The Governor added, 'Write so as to convince him and make him come hither in joy, laying all the blame upon them. You know how to write such a letter, so I need not say more; write properly, and send it.' He said this two or three times, so I wrote a rough copy and then had the letter written out. It will be despatched to-morrow.

The Governor also said, 'We ought not to let Chandâ Sâhib's son and Badê Sâhib's family go at present. As for Mîr Ghulâm Husain's coming to congratulate me, see that he does not come empty-handed, like Chandâ Sâhib's and Badê Sâhib's sons, who came with nothing though they well knew the difficulties the war has caused.' I said I would do so.

The Governor then folded up in two wrappers of paper, a neck-lace of four strings of pearls, each string having fifty-two pearls, and gave it to me with nineteen unstrung pearls, and a poor-coloured ruby like an amethyst[1] to be valued. I think the Armenian Soiquit has offered them to him at a certain price. I will write their value below or in to-morrow's diary.

Muri Dâs of Bengal went with his younger brother to the Governor and said to him:—'I sailed

[1] Presumably violet-coloured spinel. See Balfour's *Encyclopædia* *S.v.* Ruby.

on Mijnheer Tempezel's ship with some eaglewood[1] bought of a Siamese by the Directeur[2], women's cloths, etc., belonging to the Company, and some other goods belonging to a European mariner. As the ship was Dutch, all believed that she would be safe from seizure, and laded her with goods for sale on commission, expecting a good market at Mocha. On the way, the ship was driven into Cochin, and only sailed for Mocha sometime afterwards. M. du Bocage and Mijnheer Tempezel sold the goods without giving Uttava Dâs an account. When I asked about it, they asked if I had been sent to spy on them, and, he refusing to carry me back, I embarked on an Armenian ship belonging to Coja Antony and we reached the Porto Novo roads in August. When I went ashore, I heard that Pondichery was besieged by the English and an hour after while I was still considering what should be done, I learnt that the English had captured the ship[3]. So I fled to Chidambaram, and stayed there twenty days. There I heard from people passing to and fro that Mijnheer Tempezel was selling kismisses, etc., which he had brought from Mocha. Unable to remain there, I went to Arcot and then to Madras. There I learnt that the English had retreated, and so I have come hither to-day. It is two months and a half since I landed. I will state the price of the goods, etc., to-morrow. I left all

[1] See Watt's *Commercial Products*, p. 72.

[2] Duval de Leyrit.

[3] *i.e.*, the Armenian ship.

the accounts at Porto Novo with the dyer Venkatâchalam, and they must be sent for.' He repeated all this to me after he had told the Governor and then went to his father's house[1].

Although no war has been declared between the Dutch and the French, acts of war have occurred. When eight of our ships bringing treasure from Mascareigne to Madras were returning after unlading, in June, they captured a small Dutch ship[2], laden with shot and powder, so there is war between the Dutch and the French. Moreover when the English encamped here, they were assisted by about a thousand Dutch under an officer[3]. So it is clear that the French and the Dutch are at war; and I think that Mijnheer Tempezel will not deliver the treasure which he has brought from Mocha. We shall see.

Tuesday, October 29.[4]—When I went to the Governor's this morning, M. Delarche complained to the Governor that paddy was rising in price owing to my purchases for the Company. The

[1] The ship in question was the *Young Elizabeth*, on which the French had sent considerable quantities of goods to Mocha in the hope of their being covered by the neutral flag (Pondichery to the Company, November 30, 1747. *P.R.* No. 7). The Dutch in India received news of the state of war between France and the United Provinces in April, 1748; so on the arrival of *Young Elizabeth* on the Coromandel Coast in the following August, the French property aboard her seems to have been seized.

[2] Ranga Pillai's previous account, that the Dutch ship was taken by Bouvet when proceeding to Madras, is the correct one. See Vol. V, p. 64.

[3] The Dutch supplied one company from the Negapatam garrison.

[4] *17th Arppisi, Vibhava.*

Governor turned to me and said that he had only told me to buy rice, not paddy. I replied, 'True; I have only been buying rice, but yesterday evening people came and begged me to buy 400 markâls of paddy that they had left, so that they might go home with their companions. So I bought it, in order to induce others to resort hither. This is not the great affair that M. Delarche pretends.' The Governor rejoined, 'Don't buy any more paddy, but only rice.'—'Very well, Sir,' I said and went aside.

M. Delarche reported this to the Governor as though it had been a great matter, because some peons told Madame and the Governor, that Muttu Mallâ Reddi had been supplying him for the last eight or nine days with ghee, fowls, pigs, sheep and plantains; on which the Governor sent for M. Delarche and said, 'You know that Muttu Mallâ Reddi acted against us when the English were encamped here, that he seized and delivered to them the Europeans and others coming from Mahé, and otherwise troubled the people of this town; how can you be friends with him and take what he offers you in the hope of escaping the punishment of his offences?' M. Delarche being thus blamed, supposed that I had told the Governor; and so he thought to avenge himself by bringing up this paddy business. Moreover as this is my unlucky time something happens every day which I have to explain; to-day's trouble was this

affair with M. Delarche. I cannot describe the evil government of this town; so why write the details? I refrain now from writing; but will write when good rule returns. Other things were as usual.

Wednesday, October 30.[1]—Uttava Dâs says he went to Mocha with the Dutch captain Tempezel, remained with him, and sold his goods. Then the Dutchman, having disposed of his cargo, including the Directeur's goods, without Uttava Dâs's knowledge, refused to carry him back. So he took passage on Coja Antony's Armenian ship to Porto Novo, where the English seized her. On this he fled to Arcot and elsewhere, as the English were besieging Pondichery, and returned on Monday the 28th, when he heard that the English had retreated; two months and a half after he landed at Porto Novo, he heard at Chidambaram that Mijnheer Tempezel's ship had reached Negapatam 15 days after the Armenian ship.

Goods were selling at Mocha in March 1748 at the following rates:—

Blue cloth (Dutch sort) at 92 Mocha dollars *per* corge.

Unbleached long cloth at 120 Mocha dollars *per* corge.

Bleached long cloth at 130 Mocha dollars *per* corge.

[1] *18th Arppisi, Vibhava.*

(By Mocha weight the Bahar is two maunds less than here.)[1]

Uncured [coffee?] at 12 Mocha dollars *per* Mocha maund.[2]

[Eaglewood] at 162½ Mocha dollars *per* maund.

Quicksilver at [ ] rupees *per* small seer

Vermilion at 56 country dollars *per* maund.

Sugar at 3½ dollars *per* maund.

White lead at 5½ dollars *per* maund.

Tutenague at 4½ dollars *per* maund.

Rice at 12 dollars *per* tûmân[3] (one tûmân equals 2½ Bengal maunds).

Turmeric at 60 dollars *per* Mocha candy.

Pepper at 60 dollars *per* Mocha candy.

Red chillies at 14 dollars *per* Monûr[4] maund.

Sandalwood at 62 dollars *per* Mocha candy

Mijnheer Tempezel seems to be selling no goods at Negapatam. He does not know what to do, as the Dutch and the French are enemies. He must have sold the [uncured cloth] entrusted to him at a profit of four for one: but God's will is not known; the money may be received or not. If He wills we [ ]

Till November no mass had been said for M. Paradis; but it was done to-day, so that no

[1] The Bahar at Mocha was reckoned at 450 lbs. *Avoir.*; the candy at Pondichery was 517 lbs.—roughly, 2 maunds heavier. (Kennett's *Ready Assistant*)

[2] According to Kennett's *Ready Assistant*, 150 maunds went to the Bahar at Mocha; so the maund was about 3 lbs.

[3] Used here as a measure of rice, equal to 168 lbs. (Kennett, *Op. Cit.*)

[4] *Sic.* Query, Mocha?

scandal might arise from its neglect. So all went to the church and returned.

Three months ago, in order to procure the release of Gôvinda Râo, 'Abd-ul-rahmân, Mîr Yâdgâr and Muhammad Saiyid wrote a letter purporting to come from Murtazâ 'Alî Khân offering to send 500 horse, 2,000 foot and 200 large-calibre muskets. The Governor replied that he was grateful for the offer but that he needed no help just then. So the three men wrote another letter, like that they had formerly written from Valudâvûr, saying:—'When 500 horse, 2,000 foot and 200 large muskets were offered, you wrote that they were not wanted; so they have not been sent. But when you need them, they are at your service.' When I read this to the Governor, he told me to write a letter with compliments, saying that he would do whatever might be desired in future. I wrote accordingly, and gave the answer to Jemadar 'Abd-ul-rahmân.

The Governor again sent for me and told me to send all the draught-bullocks in town to the French-looking bearded European master-gunner who has charge of the bullocks. The master-gunner said that he only wanted nine; and when he was asked if there were so many in town, he wrote out a list, showing that M. Cornet had two, Carvalho two, Jemadar 'Abd-ul-rahmân four, and Badê Sâhib's people two, ten in all. I sent Periyanna Nayinâr to go and bring the bullocks.

The Governor again sent for me at half-past eleven to tell me what M. Lanoë[?] had said, that two of the Âlankuppam peons who ran away on account of the siege should be dismissed, that two should be sent in their place, and that fuel, etc., should be supplied for the chunam kilns at Âlankuppam without delay. I accordingly sent two new peons and wrote a cadjan to Ranganâtha Mudali ordering him to see to it.

Subbayyan came and told me this evening that yesterday evening, the 29th, as Mr. Boscawen, the Rear-Admiral, was riding from Fort St. David to the Manjakuppam garden, he fell off, cut his cheek, and was carried in a palankin to the Fort to be attended to. This was witnessed by the Malabar Brâhman who accompanied M. Changeac and who has been released from his imprisonment at Cuddalore. He brought this news to the Governor this evening, and said he would come and tell me to-morrow morning. Subbayyan added that the Governor asked if Mr. Boscawen was likely to die, but the other answered he only knew that he had fallen from his horse. He also said that when Gôpâlaswâmi heard the English were besieging Pondichery, he fled to Turaiyûr and thence to Tinnevelly, as he could find nothing to do there; and that Êkâmbara Ayyan and Venkatanârâyanappa Ayyan were at Turaiyûr, doing nothing.

I then told the Governor that Mudâmiah [1] had written a congratulatory letter. He ordered me to answer it and to get in paddy quickly; and asked

[1] Faujdar of Chidambaram.

why the renters of Alisapâkkam, Ariyânkuppam and Murungampâkkam had not come. I replied, 'I spoke to Lazar, the renter of Alisapâkkam and Ariyânkuppam; and he said that the ryots of the three villages had been afraid to come, because the English had exacted contributions from them.' He replied, 'It is no use talking to Lazar. Appoint managers and rent the lands to the cultivators; as the heads of the villages whom you appointed are afraid to come, they need not be sent for. Let the lands be given to the poor who live by tillage.' I came away saying that I would do so.

Madanânda Pandit went to Madame at half-past four, to discuss secret matters, as he did yesterday, and did not come back till seven o'clock. He was very elated till this evening, but now he is not. The reason will be known hereafter.

Thursday, October 31.[1]—When I went to the Governor this morning, he asked me if I could get three or four pairs of gold bangles, such as boys wear. I said it would be difficult but I would try. I then came away.

I heard the following to-day:—When 'Alî Khân asked the Governor's leave to go home, he raised his pay to 50 rupees, to include the monthly cost of a palankin,[2] and said he might go when Negapatam had been taken in January.

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[1] *19th Arppisi, Vibhava.*

[2] The Madras Council reckoned this at 7 pagodas, say 25 rupees, a month (Madras to the Company, November 10, 1750). Ives (*Voyage*, p. 21) says £30 a year. That would be 20 rupees a month.

At two o'clock to-day a peon came for the Governor's large seal, saying that Madame wanted it to seal a letter with. I suppose she wishes to frighten me into thinking that I shall not be allowed to keep it. That Brâhman fellow, Madanânda Pandit, has been accusing me of substituting one letter for another, in order to favour certain persons. No doubt he has said this and that against me. As I expected, he came and said that Madame had kept the seal, and told him that the Governor's European writer[1] would keep it and could be asked for it whenever it was needed to seal letters with. I replied, 'That has always been the custom. Whenever several letters had to be written, either by day or night, the seal was sent for and returned when finished with. Why do Madame and you make so much of it?' So I dismissed him. There is no other news. There has been a little rain.

[1] M. Bertrand.

NOVEMBER 1748.

Friday, November 1.[1]—It began to rain at five o'clock this morning, and continued heavily till midnight. So I did not go out or hear any news.

Saturday, November 2.[2]—When I was going to the Governor's this morning, M. Delarche came and said, 'I hear that the bearded European in charge of the bullocks and carts bringing in paddy has chosen eight to be broken in to draw carts. If bullocks are to be seized thus, no one will bring paddy in. I meant to have told the Governor.' Alagappa Mudali also told me that M. Delarche had told him that, as he had been unable to say anything, I had better advise the Governor to buy the bullocks. As this was only a trifling affair, and I knew the need of bullocks, I resolved to buy them, and said he might tell the Governor so.

When I was sitting there, the Governor came and asked if any grain had come in as the rain had been so heavy. I said some would come in. He then asked what I had done about the 400 garse he had told me to buy. I replied, 'I got a letter only last night. At their prices, the rate is five small measures. But I will do as you order.' He ordered me to send the money if they would sell at 3 great measures. I said I would do so.

[1] *20th Arppisi, Vibhava.* [2] *21st Arppisi, Vibhava.*

He then asked if I had appointed managers of the villages. I said that the rain had prevented my sending yesterday, but that I would send them to-morrow. I added that some of the crops were not ripe at Alisapâkkam, that some of the cultivators had come in, but none of the rich Reddis, and that it was the same with the Ariyânkuppam people. He then told me to send for Lazar. When the latter returned from the Second and stood before the Governor, he was asked why the Alisapâkkam and Ariyânkuppam cultivators had not appeared. He said, 'They gave the English a nazar of 250 rupees and are busy with their cattle and cultivation. There was a Christian named Arasi Goundan in Ariyânkuppam. He became a Hindu and wore the *nâmam*[1] on his forehead. He disturbed the cultivators and made them visit the English. He accompanied English Christian peons and discovered the places where the Christians were concealed, and caused great disturbance. He also made the Murungampâkkam ryots visit the English. They[2] have now gone to Fort St. David, and the Alisapâkkam ryots are in great fear. I will send for them as ordered.' The Governor asked if M. Dulaurens had received the Alisapâkkam rents. Lazar said he had received last year's rent and 2 or 300 [pagodas ?] more. The Governor replied, 'I will tell you what

[1] The mark worn by Vaishnavas.
[2] Apparently, this man and the Christian peons.

is due on the last three years as soon as the matter is settled. You had better send for the Reddis, settle the accounts, and collect what is due. I know nothing of them, but I know that you are to blame. Did any of the merchants, ryots or peons at Madras go and see M. La Bourdonnais when he captured it? Not one! Six or seven months after the capture of Madras they came in one by one. But these people would not even wait to see how the siege would end! What abominable conduct!' Lazar knew not what to answer, and the Governor continued, 'We don't want ryots like that here. Settle their accounts, and send them off.' He then turned to me and said, 'Appoint managers for the villages and see that the cultivation is carried on. Let me see the managers before they are sent.' I said I would do so, and added that the cultivation inside the bounds was more backward than that outside, but that it would be all right in a month or two. Then I and Tânappa Mudali went on to the verandah.

He said to me, 'Madame knows every one who went to the camp. What can the Governor do? If we spoke to her, we could send for whoever is wanted; her word is supreme, and the Governor can do nothing. But if she dropped a word against us, we should be helpless.' I said he could do what he thought best, and he took leave saying that he should do so. The Governor then went to the battery on the sea-wall to watch the ships. I went to the nut-godown.

At seven o'clock to-night there came a reply to our letter of two months back to Imâm Sâhib, sent by the Surat runners, promising to pay all expenses if he would get from Nâsîr Jang a cross-hilted dagger set with precious stones, a sword, with a fine hilt and other arms, and a dress of honour like those sent to M. Dumas by Safdar 'Alî Khân. Having received the letter, Madame sent for the Brâhman. He called me, and we went together. The Governor was playing at cards, and Madame was also there. Seeing the Brâhman but not me, she told the Governor that the Brâhman had come. He looked up and ordered the letter to be given to me. She gave it to head-peon Sântappan and went in angrily. When I had the letter, the Governor asked if our messengers had brought it. Though I knew, I pretended not to, and said that I could not say till I had seen them. So I sent for them, heard what news they had, and then, going to Ranga Pillai's office, I had a candle lit and the letter was read to me by Madanânda Pandit. Just then Sântappan came, and taking Madanânda Pandit aside, said, 'I have been ordered to find out how many letters have been written to the Governor and how many to Ranga Pillai. You are being called thieves and liars and will be punished in such and such a way.' Madanânda Pandit answered, 'There are two letters for the Governor and two to Rangappan. If any one doubts this, he may ask and find out the truth.' He then turned to me and said, 'It is not possible

to live under the rule of this woman. If she suspects you, why does she not tell her husband, dismiss you and appoint some one else? We have nothing but trouble from sunrise to sunset.' I replied, 'My ill-fortune is alone to blame. Tell me the contents of the letters so that I may make my report to the Governor.' I said no more as I knew the Pandit to be a bastard, capable of ravishing his own mother. He continued, 'If Madame goes on like this, why don't you say that you cannot continue in your office? We have disputes from morning to night!' He said this, concealing what he himself is doing. After a moment's silence I said that we could talk about this later on, and asked him to read me the letter immediately, lest the Governor should call for us. He said that the contents of the letter were [ ].

Sunday, November 3.[1]—When I went to the Governor's this morning, a letter of compliment was received from Chandâ Sâhib's wife saying, 'My daughter who married [the son of] Hirâsat Khân of Sâtghar has given birth to a daughter and I must go to Sâtghar to attend the ceremonies.' When I had related this to the Governor, Râjô Pandit who was standing beside me said that Razâ Sâhib desired leave to go and return. The Governor said, 'Can they be better off in their own country than here? This is their own place, so why can't they come

[1] *22nd Arppisi, Vibhava.*

here?' Râjô Pandit replied, 'Their minds are not at ease in Wandiwash; their letters, their people and even their dishes are searched before they are allowed to pass; so what can be said of other things? They are in great trouble—you can see it for yourself. So they cannot remain at Wandiwash—there is no doubt of it.' On this, the Governor said to me, 'What you said to me seven or eight days ago proves true. But perhaps though they wish to leave Wandiwash, they mean to remain at Sâtghar or go elsewhere.' Râjô Pandit replied, 'Both among Muhammadans and Tamils, sons-in-law must be treated with respect. When Chandâ Sâhib's wife was at Valudâvûr, she never intended to go away, but 'Alî Naqî Sâhib came and frightened her, being but a woman, with stories of the Nawâb's men and troopers' coming, and so got them to go to Wandiwash. Also Taqî Sâhib and 'Alî Naqî Sâhib brought to Wandiwash those who had intended to go from Valudâvûr and live in Perumukkal. Moreover Taqî Sâhib would not admit into the Fort Muhammad 'Alî Khân's[1] relatives who wished to attend his daughter's marriage, but only allowed a few to enter, and so troubled them. Muhammad 'Alî Khân will certainly not remain at Wandiwash. You know whether my words are true or not.' On this, the Governor said, 'I will deliver Razâ Sâhib to Chandâ Sâhib only and will not allow him to depart before

[1] Chandâ Sâhib's brother, the killedar of Pôlûr.

his father arrives.' He then left us and having written in French a reply to the letter from Aurangabad, sent for M. Delarche, to have it translated into Persian. M. Delarche told Madanânda Pandit to write it as follows :—[ ]

Monday, November 4.[1]—This morning I took Vallûr Antannan who serves the French Company at Yânâm, to see the Governor.[2] He brought with him as a present two pieces of fine longcloth, 25 kâls wide, five pieces of *lungis*, and 50 star pagodas. The two pieces of longcloth were worth 45 pagodas and the five pieces of *lungis* 10 pagodas—in all 105 pagodas. Offering these, he said, 'I have served the French Company at the Yânâm Factory for twenty-five or twenty-six years. No former Governor has won as much glory as you; you are called a second king; and none like you will arise after you among the French people; so that, throughout the 60 leagues I have travelled, all have treated me with respect and fear. Who is more fortunate than I thus to be privileged to see your glory?' On hearing this, the Governor laughed in great joy and asked how long he had been on the way. He replied, 'When I set out thirty days ago, all advised me not to go, as the English were attacking this place. But as I well knew your valour, might, good fortune and glory, I said that the English would have vanished before I arrived

[1] *23rd Arppisi, Vibhava.*

[2] See Vol. IV, p. 471 *supra.*

here, that you would be rejoicing, and that I should witness your delight. So I set out.' The Governor was gladder still to hear this, smiled, and, ordering *pân supârî* and rosewater, asked if he had ever come here with M. [Guillard?]. He replied, 'I came with him after the factory had been opened at Yânâm[1], when I was appointed there.' Then he presented a letter from M. Sainfray at Yânâm. The letter made the Governor laugh. M. Sainfray has probably written confidentially, asking for the Governor's orders. He may have said that M. Choisy was worried to death by the reports about the Muhammadans and the Marathas and owed the merchants money; and he may have made other complaints. In M. Sainfray's letter to M. Barthélemy at Madras, he complained of me. M. Barthélemy told me so; and Vallûr Antannan was told by M. Barthélemy that the Governor's letter was to the same purpose; so this may be true. *Pân supârî* and rosewater were brought as the Governor was reading the letter; and he gave them with his own hands, saying, 'Much obliged; take care of yourself; we will talk at leisure.' So he dismissed him.

He then visited Madame Dupleix with a piece of longcloth worth 10 pagodas, six pieces of chintz worth 12 pagodas, and four pieces of *lungis* worth 8 pagodas—30 pagodas in all—and received *pân supârî*. He then went to his lodging in Lakshmi

[1] Parwânas, dated in 1731, permitting the re-establishment of a factory at Yânâm are printed in *Lettres et Conventions*, pp 22 and 24

Nâyakkan's house, saying that he would visit me in the afternoon when he had seen M. Guillard, M. Boyelleau, M. Lauvray[1] and others.

I gave the Governor a list in French of the villages as far as Kûnimêdu, Valudâvûr and Alisapâkkam as ordered yesterday. He asked what was the rent of the Bâhûr jaghir and other villages. I said it would take three or four days to find out. He told me to do so. I agreed and came away.

At noon when I was eating, twenty-one guns were fired. I hear that M. Friell gave an entertainment and a dance to-night and that the Governor went there and returned home at one o'clock at night.

I hear that the Governor has placed dragoons as guards over M. Duquesne and M. Bussy as they fought a duel with swords this afternoon.[2]

Tuesday, November 5.[3]—When I went to the Governor's this morning, he asked how long it would take to bring in 100 garse of grain. I said, ten days. He then asked what I had done about getting the 400 garse. I replied, 'Reckoning the cost price with the cost of carriage, one should be able to get it at four and a half small measures. I have offered to buy at six measures, but I do not think they will consent, as they can bring and sell it here at four or four and a

[1] I suspect an error for Porcher, who had long been connected with the northern factories, like the other persons mentioned.

[2] This is the second duel of Bussy's that Ranga Pillai has recorded. See Vol. IV, p. 402, *supra*.

[3] *24th Arppisi, Vibhava.*

half small measures.' He went away angrily at this. Afterwards I said, 'The price here is much higher than outside; so it comes here, as there is little demand outside. Moreover this is the Kâr harvest, and people say in two months there may be war again, when they will be able to get into the town as easily as Abhimanyu got into the army drawn up in the form of a lotus but like him will find it hard to get out again.[1] So the people in the town and those outside are, by God's decree, alarmed. The people here are great sinners—why need I say it? But those coming in from outside are not, save so far as they associate with our people. Many have escaped death or destruction; because, as the proverb says, rain will fall for the sake of one good man. That is what all say; and so it will happen.'

I hear that Mr. Boscawen, the Rear-Admiral, has written as follows from Fort St. David to Mahârâja Râja Srî the Governor Avargal :—'I hear that you are saying that I fled because I could not fight, with other ill speeches. Have you not also fled, unable even to come in sight of the Bound-hedge when you wished to attack Fort St. David? Did not your army and your commanders fly six or seven times, leaving all their baggage, even after

[1] In the *Mahâbhârata* it is related that, on the twelfth day of the battle at Kurukshêtra, Abhimanyu, son of one of the five Pândavas, cut his way into the centre of the enemy's army, drawn up in the form of a lotus or a wheel, where, after slaying many, he was himself at last slain.

they had reached the Manjakuppam garden? You are also a servant of the Company; are you then a noble? What is your name in France? What favours has your King shown you?"[1] When this rude letter was read, the officers, etc., called together the English prisoners, to whom the Governor spoke about the King's dignity and his own greatness, the position of a Governor, and the honours bestowed on him by the King's commission; then he desired them to write a letter. The Governor and Madame also wrote and these letters were sent to Fort St. David by a chobdar. Jemadar 'Abd-ul-rahmân told this to Razâ Sâhib (Chandâ Sâhib's son), Mîr Diyânat-ul-lah, Mîr Ghulâm Husain's father and adopted son, and others who were passing by. Such talk lowers the Governor's dignity and spreads news. The Governor lacks foresight, does all his wife tells him, relates to her all the news, and acts on her advice. So news gets abroad, and occasions great unrest. A year-ago, how all internal affairs were kept from taking air! How well-guarded was the town! What glory! What vigour of administration! Enemies and subahdars alike trembled! But now what a difference! The wise, nay, even animals know why. Who is ignorant of it? So why need I write? I

[1] This extraordinary epistle is the bazaar version of a letter regarding the exchange and treatment of prisoners. (M. Nazelle has printed the letters from Dupleix in answer, pp. 372, etc.) Hence the subsequent summoning of the English prisoners.

have not described the thousandth part of what happens. Why should I, when even brute beasts can understand?

No one paid his respects to the Governor till eleven o'clock to-day, as he was up very late at the dance at M. Friell's last night. Then there is nothing else of importance.

Madame Dupleix' peons still plunder the town; the sepoys are going into the best houses, hauling out the watchmen by the neck, and living there; pariahs are living in Chettis' and Kômuttis' houses, putting up screens on the pials If asked how they dare enter such houses, or even step onto the pial, they answer wrongfully that the houses are ownerless, that Madame has ordered them to remain there, and that the houses will be seized if more is said. Moreover they enter the houses of the poor and cruelly [molest] their women. Pondichery is thus the abode of cruelty. None knows God's will. The wise say that all sins must be expiated, and that this must continue till God is pleased to change the Governor's heart and establish justice. I cannot write all the terrible things that befall the town; so I will cease writing.

Wednesday, November 6.[1]—I went this morning to M. Cornet at the Fort. Seven or eight days before the siege, I agreed to buy 4,000 pagodas' worth of paddy, at 320 rupees *per* 100 pagodas.

[1] *25th Arppisi, Vibhava.*

Some was delivered. What came in afterwards, what was purchased in the bazaar and supplied to the Company, and the rice and the paddy which came in from the villages—all these were entered in the account and the receipts and expenditure were written. I got back my bond for 4,000 pagodas and gave one for 932 pagodas and some fanams which remain due. My Kunnattûr coarse cloth, the double-yarn coarse cloth, and the local cloth, which I had supplied, were entered in the Company's merchants' accounts, and I said that I would deliver what more could be collected to-morrow and take a receipt.

Then the Governor's peon came for me, so I went to him at half-past ten. He asked what sepoys I had sent to Madras and what peons I had ordered to watch the paddy. I said that I had sent 100 sepoys and 20 peons. He repeated this to M. Law, and added that none of Malayappan's peons could be had as all were on the Madras road, and M. Law was desired to get a list of the remaining sepoys.

Then he asked me if I had received the accounts of the assessment of the out-villages. I said they would come to-morrow.

Then the Brâhman Râjô Pandit, Razâ Sâhib's man, came and said:—'We asked Jemadar 'Abd-ul-rahmân to speak to Madame about us instead of arranging with you. He visited her, and she ordered our property to be produced; when she had

examined it, she said that the Governor had never demanded the debt and that it was you who had done so and disgraced the Governor. 'Abd-ul-rahmân said he would get permission at once, but after ten or fifteen days he came and said that the Governor had refused permission. Till now, you have been our help, so be pleased to get us the permission.' He added that Madame and 'Abd-ul-rahmân had said much against me. I replied, 'I shall ever think it a great matter to finish your business; and Madame who may be angry with me at one moment, will be kind the next. I will help you as much as possible.' So saying I dismissed him.

I heard afterwards that Muttayya Pillai, son of Arumpâtai, Ariyappa Mudali and Kadâkumara Pillai had gone to Ullundapattu, having halted at my Choultry, and seen all their goods and money removed thither by Venkata Râo and Tyâgayyan of my Agrahâram. They have all gone to Arumpâtai Pillai's Choultry. Ariyappa Mudali is returning to Pondichery. [ ]

Saturday, November 9.[1]—I did not go out to-day on account of the rain. The lame Palli, Savarimuttu, spoke to Madame about Muttu Bôlam Reddi, younger brother of Muttu Mallâ Reddi, the headman of Tindivanam; and got a cowle for him on condition of his helping us against Muttu Mallâ

[1] *28th Arppisi, Vibhava.*

Reddi. So he came in this evening from Madurantakam. It is said that the Governor, hearing of his arrival, ordered him to be sent to his lodging and be brought to him to-morrow.

Sunday, November 10.[1]—When I went to the Governor this morning, he said that M. Delarche had written that he owed nothing in the matter of the broadcloth. I replied that he had written to M. Dulaurens that there was a loss of 45 *per cent* on the sale of the broadcloth.

The Governor ordered me to petition the Council again saying that I had to deliver money, rice, etc., for the garrison, relating what M. Dulaurens had said and what happened afterwards, and mentioning M. Desvœux' having refused payment. I agreed.

Then he asked me for the letter written to Imâm Sâhib and about the list of villages. I gave him them. Then he sent for M. Delarche, added some more details, had the letter and the list sealed, and delivered it to the two Surat runners who had come from Imâm Sâhib and another, Imâm Sâhib's man, with orders to proceed without delay to Imâm Sâhib at Aurangabad and bring back his reply. I sent them off with 40 rupees for their former journey, and 80 rupees for their journey to Aurangabad. I also gave 20 rupees to Imâm Sâhib's man.

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[1] *29th Arppisi, Vibhava.*

The letter said :—' You desire that I should send 1,000 gold mohurs to procure the diamond *kalgi*, *sarpech*, quiver, bow, cross-hilted dagger set with precious stones, swords, shields, spears, etc., to be presented to me by Nâsîr Jang, but this is behaviour befitting a huckster, not a gentleman. When I reported to you the nominal and actual collections of the Valudâvûr and Villiyanallûr jaghirs, and requested a grant of the villages composing them, you stated your terms; we accordingly will give Madras and the villages attached to it, on condition of their never being restored to the English unless at the same time Kûnimêdu and 75 villages including the waste lands be granted us in addition. Otherwise we will take them by force. As Anwar-ud-dîn Khân and 'Abd-ul-jalîl helped the English when we attacked them, we seized the country as far as Arcot, but forgave him out of respect for the Pâdshâh and Nâsîr Jang. But now if you do not act as written above, we will take the country by force. I will send 1,000 gold mohurs, as requested; so procure and send the dress of honour, the cross-hilted dagger, sword, etc., with the *kalgi* and other jewels set with precious stones. Then your goods at Madras shall be released, and the Manilla ship affair that you wrote about, shall be settled.' Such a letter was written to Imâm Sâhib. I have written the contents in brief. The Governor may have written in greater detail; but I have given the purport of it. The Governor thinks

that he will succeed in this affair ; but I think otherwise. Things will happen as God wills.[1]

Monday, November 11.[2]—M. de Kerjean and the Abbé de Fages, the Padre, who were to carry to Europe the news of the victory, went overland to Madras, where they were to take ship for Europe. But when they set sail, the ship sprang aleak, so they returned and anchored in the roads at nine o'clock to-night. M. Kerjean and the Abbé brought the Europe packet ashore with them. I hear the ship cannot sail for Europe, as she is very leaky and full of water. The Governor went down to the beach this morning, and returned after inquiring about the sloop for Mascareigne which was driven back here.

I hear that Chandâ Sâhib's son, Razâ Sâhib, has set out for Wandiwash to fetch his mother and others, Shaikh 'Abd-ul-rahmân standing surety for his return. He is said to have many reasons for going. People say that Badê Sâhib's wife and her adopted son, Qâdir 'Alî Khân, intend to go with him with the jemadar's help.

Dubâsh Tândavarâyan tells me that M. Desmarêts is not well, and that he wants to settle his accounts. I sent him away saying that I would speak and settle the accounts to-morrow.

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[1] Ranga Pillai shows less than his usual insight in these comments. Dupleix' policy was developing into almost avowed defiance of the Moghul powers.

[2] [*30th*] *Arppisi, Vibhava.*

M. Caucheron, the trumpeter's son, and brother-in-law of M. Perichon, married to-day the daughter of a European sergeant. She has been brought up by Madame Perichon.

When a list of houses was prepared during the troubles, Daivanâyaka Ayyangâr's son declared that he was Daivanâyaka Ayyangâr himself and then departed from the town, delivering the paper to his father. Owing to the siege, the father had hidden goods worth about 150 pagodas with Venkata Râo of my agrahâram, who removed and hid them in Tirumangalam. When the English searched the place and beat the people, Daivanâyaka Ayyangâr's property was delivered up; so when he and others went out to get their goods, a dispute arose. Daivanâyaka Ayyangâr said to Venkata Râo, 'You could preserve the goods of Arumpâtai Pillai, Mutta Pillai, Ariyappa Mudali, the shânârs and others, and your own as well; what have you done with mine? Your goods were in the same place.' He even threatened to tell the Governor and Madame that he had lost five or ten thousand [pagodas'] worth of goods, and vowed he would trouble his ryots, unless he was compensated. He added, 'Don't you know that Appu Mudali was imprisoned only for taking away a hundred pagodas' worth of goods? I will say that you stole the Company's goods here and at Madras, and brought them here.' When Daivanâyaka Ayyangâr thus threatened, hoping thereby to recover his property, they remained silent. Then, having received

the paper in which his son had stated that he was Daivanâyaka Ayyangâr, he came in and repeated the same here. Mutta Pillai and Ariyappa Mudali got alarmed and feared his talk might lead to trouble. So they told M. Delarche that this man whose name had been borrowed by his son[1] should be expelled the town. He was sent for last night. It is his own fault that his house has been confiscated with the other ownerless houses. I hear the choultry writers have been ordered to transfer the house to the Company for his son's fault, and to imprison him in the Nayinâr's house with the intention of expelling him for impersonating his son. I had thought of speaking to Muttayya Pillai and Ariyappa Mudali and getting something for him out of charity; but as he is so stiff-necked, they grew afraid and have done all this.

Tuesday, November 12.[2]—This morning M. Delarche brought Daivanâyaka Ayyangâr who was put in prison last night, before the Governor, and said, 'This man got the pass which was issued in his son's name, and forced his way in. Moreover he says that he carried away before the siege 4,000 pagodas' worth of goods and delivered them to a Brâhman; he complains that they have been lost.' The Governor then asked me what he had to say. Having questioned Daivanâyaka Ayyangâr, I

[1] According to a strict grammatical interpretation, this passage, in contradiction of the preceding and succeeding passages, makes Daivanâyaka impersonate his son.

[2] *1st Kârttigai, Vibhava.*

replied, 'He says that the man to whom he entrusted his goods declares they are lost; and that he has come here to complain and get the matter settled.' The Governor said, 'Such a complaint astonishes me! How many pagodas did he say?' I replied, 'He says he had jewels worth 150 pagodas, but others say they were only worth eighty. The Brâhman lives in my choultry.' The Governor said, 'Let him go where he lost them!' Thereupon M. Delarche ordered a peon to carry him outside the bounds. So he was expelled the town. If only he had kept quiet, he might have recovered half his losses, and dwelt in comfort in the town; but now not only is he expelled, but he has lost his house. They say his misfortune is the beginning of the influence of Saturn under which he will lie for the next seven years and a half.

Madame said to Muttu Reddi, Muttu Mallâ Reddi's younger brother:—'Did you not declare that you knew nothing about your brother's betraying the Company? Well, the time has not yet come to seize his children, or the grain and cattle of his villages; but ships will arrive in mid-January, and then we will seize them. Moreover he is not to be found at present. We want 10,000 pagodas' worth of paddy, besides cattle, fowls, ghee, etc. We will send money for these.' So saying, Madame dismissed him. People have told me this.

The Council's orders of November 4 have been posted in French, Tamil and Persian in six places—

the sorting godown in the Fort, St. Paul's church, the Capuchins' church, the entrance of Mahârâja Râja Srî the Governor's house, the stamping choultry and the beach. I copy the order below :—

The Honourable Council hereby notifies all Europeans and Tamils, etc., owning gardens outside the town, that—

(1) all the garden-land lying between the walls of the town and the Bound-hedge shall be deemed the Company's property ;

(2) no one, high or low, shall build houses or choultries, great or small, within such distance from the walls as shall be marked out by the Company ;

(3) no one shall plant gardens of coconuts, plantains or other fruit-trees between the walls and the Bound-hedge, nor shall they plant hedges round cultivated land within the bounds ;

(4) those wishing to cultivate land within the said limits, according to clause (3), must execute an agreement before the notary, and pay such yearly rent as the arbitrators may decide ;

(5) any one wishing to plant fruit trees beyond the Bound-hedge, may do so 150 toises beyond it at a yearly rent to the Company as stated above ;

(6) whoever owns gardens beyond the Bound-hedge shall declare and produce his titles, and execute a bond to the Council, and pay a yearly rent to the Company ; any failing herein shall forfeit his lands ;

(7) the extent of the gardens already possessed or granted in future shall be written down together with the amount of rent due, and three copies thereof shall be taken, one to be given to the choultry justice and the two writers under him, the second to the notary, so that the bond may be correctly written, and the third to the *Caissier*;

(8) those who lease the Company's lands for the cultivation of paddy shall not convert them into gardens as they did before, nor assign them to others without the permission of the Governor or without a note from the notary; the bonds or notes that will be written in the case of transfer or sale need not be registered in the choultry;

(9) the assessment of all lands sub-let shall be deducted from the rent;

(10) those who have planted separate gardens shall pay their rent to the *Caissier* only, and his receipts shall be taken as proof of payment;

(11) those in occupation of land shall pay to the *Caissier* their rent within a year of its falling due, after which on complaint of the *Caissier*, the dues may be recovered by the sale of the lands;

(12) it appearing that certain people deserted the town and joined the enemy when we were besieged, the Council in order to prevent the like again, orders that their lands shall be forfeited to the Company, sold at public outcry and the proceeds taken by the Company;

(13) the owners of such houses may bid for them at the outcry, except those Brâhmans who left their houses; the latter shall not be allowed to live here; only those Brâhmans who remained here with their families during the siege may continue to live here;

(14) the choultry justice and his two Company's writers shall carefully see that these orders are carried out.

The order of the Supreme Council at Pondichery, signed November 4, 1748,

Dupleix.
Legou.
Guillard.
Lemaire.
Friell.
Boyelleau.

To-day, five or six English ships sailed into our roads and then put out to sea. One of them returned, showing a white flag and then again departed. I hear that letters have been passing between Mr. Boscawen and the Governor since the siege, about the exchange of prisoners, that they have come to an agreement, and that the ship was intended to land the French and to take on board the English prisoners and soldiers. She could not do so as the sea was very high.

Wednesday, November 13.[1]—When I went to the Governor's to-day he asked me about the

[1] *2nd Kârttigai, Vibhava.*

letter from the Vakîl at Trichinopoly. I said, 'Anwar-ud-dîn Khân and others have moved from Trichinopoly to attack Tanjore as the tribute has been withheld, and are two stages on the way. They camped at Sandalakkai and Tirukkâttupalli with 2,000 horse and five or six thousand foot for the defence. The Tondimân intends to join the Moghuls. Muhammad 'Alî Khân is going to march against the Tamil poligars to collect the revenues. When His Highness Mahfuz Khân was asked why he had not congratulated the Governor on his success over the English, Mahfuz Khân replied that he intended to visit him. Those who spoke ill of the French have their faces blackened and go about in sadness. Whenever there is occasion, it is said at the Darbâr that the French are great warriors, and that the cowardly English are no match for them; for they have already lost Madras, now they have again been beaten, and soon they will lose Fort St. David. Those who formerly praised them, talk thus now. I have spent 50 or 60 rupees on business here. Please pay Salatu Venkatâchala Chetti and send an order for me to receive the amount from Tiruviti Sêshâchala Chetti here. I have too few peons to send often, so let me have more. Anwar-ud-dîn is very short of money, because the killedars and jemadars are giving much trouble and postponing their payments on the pretext of having had to spend much money in the war with Pandâri of Vêttavalam.'

On hearing this, the Governor said, 'As 'Abd-ul-jalîl who helped our enemies has had to retreat, he is ashamed to congratulate the Nawâb or us. Now is the time for Murtazâ 'Alî Khân to seize the country, but he is fool enough to keep quiet.' I replied, 'Murtazâ 'Alî Khân is not keeping quiet. He hopes to get the subah of Arcot from the Moghul, and I hear that he will get it soon. He is raising horse.'

Then he asked what my garden was like. I replied, 'It has been destroyed and the ground is to pass to the Company. Moreover it has been decided to destroy the garden beyond the Bound-hedge. So I have given up all hopes about them.' The Governor replied, 'You need not do that. Your garden beyond the Bound-hedge will not be destroyed; but you must not fence your garden opposite the Valudâvûr gate. You may grow crops there as you please, and we will see about it later on.' I thanked him and agreed. I think that he has done this for the sake of the Europeans, not the Tamils; by the evil influence of Saturn now almost over, the town has been beset with troubles, and the Governor has passed such orders; else he would never have done so.

The Governor continued, 'You seem to think that the English will return; but I am sure that they never will.' I replied, 'In truth it is no easy matter to come against us. How many people have been lost and how much has been spent by them in

their defeat! They must replace what they have lost before they can come back and raise batteries. I think they will again attack only if more troops come from Europe; otherwise they cannot. This is my thought and I hope it may thus come to pass.' He agreed.

Then the Governor asked if the Tamils who had left the town thinking it would fall into the enemy's hands were not ashamed to return. I replied, 'They are: but men do such things in time of troubles. How can I describe the alarm of the Europeans? They stayed because they knew not where to go outside; but they expected to be made prisoners I have even heard them tell each other so. I will say a hundred times that Tamils are braver than Europeans.' He agreed.

When we were thus talking together, I said he might profit by enquiring into the affair for which Vallûr Antannan has come. He answered, 'When M. d'Espréménil was at Yânâm, this Antannan made the country Government hinder his departure;[1] and many other complaints have been made about him.' I said, 'Be pleased to listen. Were the complaints against him made after you wrote to M. Sainfray to send him here or before?' He replied, 'Not before but afterwards; M. d'Espréménil's letter was received only to-day.' I continued, 'You may judge everything from this. M. d'Espréménil left

[1] When d'Espréménil was going up to Bengal in May 1747.

Madras and went to Yânâm, whence he sent a petition to the Nawâb of Chicacole, saying that M. Albert's[1] dubâsh had plundered crores from Madras. This petition was delivered to M. Choisy, who sent it by Antannan. After great trouble, 7,000 rupees were recovered. M. d'Espréménil went to Bengal and in the last twenty months he must have written to you fifty letters which you have answered. So what can I say of complaints only made in a letter received to-day? What is unknown to you? Moreover everything was managed by M. Choisy and by no one else. He has been dead over a year. Did M. Choisy complain of Antannan even seven or eight months after the affair had happened? M. Sainfray has been in charge for a year since then. If he had complained before now, Antannan might be at fault.' The Governor replied, 'Nothing was written before; the complaint has only just been made. M. Guillard was chief at Yânâm for seventeen years. I will ask him and learn all about it from him.' So saying, he ordered M. Guillard to be sent for. A peon went to fetch him. I then said, 'He intends your profit, not your loss. You know all, and I need not tell you. But one thing should be enquired into. When Antannan was sent to Pondichery, M. Sainfray was angry and wrote to M. Barthélemy at Madras and to M. d'Espréménil

[1] Probably a relative of Madame Dupleix, *née* Albert.

at Bengal. When Antannan arrived at Madras, and delivered his letter to M. Barthélemy, he read it and asked why he had brought the letter. Antannan answered that he had brought it to procure help in his affairs, and added that, when he set out, he had heard that the English were besieging Pondichery; but, expecting them to retreat, he had boldly travelled 500 miles; but he knew, should they not have retreated, he would have to remain at Madras, where he would need help in his expenses, and also a letter of introduction to you whom he had never seen. M. Barthélemy told him that the letter contradicted his statements and that the letters to the Governor were to the same effect. Antannan said that he had served the Company for twenty-five years without blame, and that M. Sainfray would not have so written unless he had feared his going to you, but that you would enquire and punish only the guilty. M. Barthélemy replied that he had been asked to go if he was really innocent. Antannan answered that he had travelled 500 miles only because he was innocent, that God knew he was pure-minded, and that he would obtain justice as God dwelt in your breast. So saying he took leave.'

I said further, 'You know what has been written to you. Would he do so if he were not really afraid? You know all things. M. Choisy received the bond for 4,600 rupees which he owed to Nâgêsan, the Company's man at Yânâm, but deferred payment and then died. M. Lenoir [?], now the Second at

Masulipatam, knows all about it. The letter says that Mrityunjayan's letter sent by Nallammâl Vîramarâjâ, requesting that the bond should be recovered from Madame Choisy, was delivered to you on April 1. You ordered the letter to be translated into French; I did so, and you took the Telugu and French, read the French translation and said that, as the matter concerned Madame Choisy, you would show her the letter, and give orders after hearing what she said. You also said that the money must have been paid as the bond had been delivered up, but that you would enquire. The bond for 4,600 rupees should have been in M. Choisy's chest. But M. Lenoir got it from M. Sainfray and then demanded the money from Madame Choisy; it was pure thievery.' The Governor agreed with me if the bond had really been so dealt with. I then said, 'Then that is why M. Sainfray made so many complaints against Antannan, with the result that you got angry and sent him away.' The Governor admitted this, and asked me to bring Antannan to-morrow morning. I said I would do so.

He then said, 'Three arbitrators are to be appointed to adjudge the lands to be given in Olukarai in exchange for those taken by the Company within the Bound-hedge. Choose and bring to me honest and impartial men who know the lands and who will pay in the rent regularly.' I said I would do so to-morrow morning. He added, 'Those who left the town on account of the siege and whose houses

have been valued, may pay the amount due before Monday and recover their houses; otherwise they will be sold along with the Brâhmans' houses. Have this proclaimed by beat of tom-tom.' I sent for the tom-tom people and told them to proclaim this. They did accordingly.

Madame Dupleix went to her mother's house, where she summoned the Wandiwash, etc., merchants, who bring paddy into the town, together with the town merchants After their arrival she said to them, 'Is it true that your paddy is not sold, and that you are not allowed to carry out the proceeds? Does any one purchase by stealth or is it being sold to the Company?' They denied both and said that their paddy lay unsold for want of purchasers. [ ]

Saturday, November 16[1].—I went to the Governor this morning and said: 'Yesterday you asked what the principal and interest of Khân Bahâdûr's debt to me amounted to. I have one bond for 5,400 rupees with 3,780 rupees interest due; to this must be added 1,035 rupees paid for an elephant with 724½ rupees interest, and 400 star pagodas at 350 rupees *per* 100 pagodas make 1,400 rupees—in all 12,340 rupees. That is the amount due to me.' The Governor said, ''Abd-ul-rahmân offers to stand security for Razâ Sâhib's going to Wandiwash and returning in fifteen days, failing which he will pay

[1] 5th Kârttigai, Vibhava.

what Khân Bahâdûr owes us. He is only a sepoy; why should he interfere in these affairs? He is a fool.' So saying he went in.

M. Delarche and M. du Bausset came and said that no one had made a list of the gardens. Thereupon the Governor sent for me and ordered me to tell the garden-people. I came away saying that I would do so.

At two o'clock this afternoon, a letter came from Imâm Sâhib, but contained nothing new,—the same as was in his letter already answered, with this addition: 'I have rented Masulipatam for 50,000 rupees, and am preparing to set out for the Carnatic. I have written for 1,000 gold mohurs; and as soon as they come I will settle your business and set out. I am waiting for orders about it.' I reported all this to the Governor and added, 'Imâm Sâhib's son has written congratulating you on your success over the English, that his father has got Masulipatam for 50,000 rupees, and that he intends to go to Arcot.' The Governor replied contemptuously that the letters of congratulation had been sent very late, and that he could not see why Imâm Sâhib had leased Masulipatam or intended to come here. I added that Nâsîr Jang had asked in his letter for five or six very large burning-glasses. The Governor said that there were none here and told me to write to Imâm Sâhib that his letter had been answered seven or eight days ago. I was to write to Imâm Sâhib's son, saying that he (the Governor)

had received his belated letter of congratulations. I said I would do so and came away.

A nazar of 50 gold mohurs was presented with our letter of congratulation to Nâsîr Jang on his assumption of the subahdari after the death of his father. Imâm Sâhib also wrote desiring these 50 gold mohurs to be paid into Gôvardhana Dâs's shop for a bill of exchange to be sent to him; but I did not tell this to the Governor as it was written that Nâsîr Jang's reply would be sent later and I thought I might tell him when it came. Moreover he heard the news with little joy, nay, even with indifference; so I said nothing.

Sunday, November 17[1].—When I went to the Governor this morning, he asked if Muhammad Kamâl was not Governor of the Ponneri country. I replied that he was and it included Pulicat. Then he told me to write a friendly letter to Muhammad Kamâl as follows:—'I hear that you will act as M. Barthélemy (the Chief of Madras) desired about certain affairs. I hear that the Dutch are obstructing the people at Pulicat. But what can they do when you are the master of the country? Considering our old friendship, please see that what M. Barthélemy wrote to you is done.' He thus ordered me to write a letter with compliments. I wrote it, sealed it and gave it to him. He at once sent it to Madras with a letter to M. Barthélemy.

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[1] *6th Kârttigai, Vibhava.*

Then he asked when paddy would be received. I said in nine or ten days, and added, 'There is already five months' water in the Ugasûdu tank; and should there be any rain, water will have to be let out. There will be such heavy crops of varagu and ragi this year, that it will be difficult to harvest them, and prices will fall. The Ulandai tank has been breached, and needs repair.' When I said this to the Governor, he answered, 'Please God it will be so.' I then went to the nut-godown.

According to the Governor's orders of yesterday, Râjô Pandit, Chandâ Sâhib's writer and jemadar 'Abd-ul-rahmân, with Madanânda Pandit as witness, wrote that Khân Bahâdûr owed me 12,310 rupees, including interest up to November 15. I showed them all the papers, etc., and agreed that everything should be done according to the Governor's orders. I showed the writing to M. du Bausset; and 'Abd-ul-rahmân made Râjô Pandit write a further note for 677 rupees principal and 372 rupees interest—1,049 rupees in all—owed by Khân Bahâdûr [1]. Then we all went home. When 'Abd-ul-rahmân agreed to stand surety for Chandâ Sâhib's son, Razâ Sâhib's return within 15 days of his going to Wandiwash, I settled with the Governor the amount to be paid to me and M. du Bausset in case Razâ Sâhib should fail to return. I said I would obtain the Governor's orders to-morrow and send them out. He said that

[1] To M. du Bausset apparently. *See below.*

kindness shown to the great would not be wasted. We went home after talking about other matters.

It was proclaimed by beat of tom-tom to-day that to-morrow morning, Monday, the 18th, four houses in the Brâhman street belonging to Nârâyana Sâstri, Panchângam Vâjappayyan, Brahmânda Subbayyan [and another] would be sold at outcry.

According to my horoscope, cast by Gôpâlaswâmi, the *Chittiram*[1] of Venus in the period of Venus lasted for five months and twenty days and expired yesterday, the 16th. Though at the beginning of the *Chittiram* of Venus, I got much wealth, yet hostile influences were strong towards the close. I did not succeed in all my affairs, lost all my gardens, etc., and was greatly alarmed by the many false accusations of my enemies. The town also was beset with troubles. It remains to be seen what will happen during the 51 days commencing from to-day in the period of Venus, sub-period of Mercury and the *Chittiram* of the Sun.

A sloop bringing shell and other munitions from Madras, came in this evening and saluted the Fort with five guns; an equal number was returned. The captain came ashore and said, ' When I set sail at nine o'clock yesterday, a large ship came into the Madras roads and fired thirteen guns. The Fort returned the same number. I saw her come in and go out again; she was in sight for about nine hours

[1] *See* Vol. V, p. 424, n 2.

Then I set sail. On my way, I sighted three ships, one at Âlambarai midway between Madras and Pondichery, another near Sadras, and the third near Covelong; but they were all at a distance.' The Governor asked why he had not waited three more hours and brought a letter from M. Barthélemy about the ship. The captain replied that he was afraid of being blamed if he delayed, as he had received his orders. The Governor, and other Europeans, and the Tamils were rejoiced at this news. The Governor is eagerly expecting letters; so do the rest. As the *Chittiram* of the Sun commences to-day, this good news has come. I think that for the next 51 days, there will be great prosperity and gain of wealth and grandeur. But everything will be seen by what happens. Nine chelingas brought 200 shells, etc., from Madras. As these are our good days, they were not seized by the English ships which lay in the passage.

Monday, November 18 [1].—I went to M. Delarche this morning and told him that Râmakrishna Chetti's house has been entered as Malaikutti Chetti's. M. Delarche corrected it, and then said, 'As for Ammayappa Mudali's house in the Vellâla street, if the Governor should mention that he is sick, the Company's merchants must reply accordingly, and say that he was coming in and going out again on account of his health.' I said that they would

[1] *7th Kârttigai, Vibhava.*

certainly say so, as he had been of service to them; and besides, it was the truth. Then I mentioned Tyâgappa Chetti's and Muttu Chetti's houses and he said he would consider the matter. Then we talked about the misgovernment here, and agreed that it could not continue. We also talked of other matters. About the entry of the house of Daivânai (Arunâchala Chetti's concubine), Kanakasabhai Chetti (Arunâchala Chetti's elder brother's son) said that the house had been built by them and that they could show the accounts. I told him that that was not enough unless he also had a bill of sale in his name; and when M. Delarche heard this, he said the same, agreeing to consider the matter. M. Delarche then said, 'We shall get letters to-day about the ships that arrived yesterday and then we shall know all about it.' M. Delarche said that he must go and speak to the Governor about the sale of the houses in the Brâhman Street, so I took my leave and went to the Governor's. He[1] went to the Brâhman Street, and sold the houses at outcry. The particulars of the sale are as follow:—

Kulandai, the palli working for M. Delarche, bought Vâjappayyan's house for 42 pagodas;

M. Droüet[2] bought Nârâyana Sâstri's house for 33 pagodas;

Vâlâ Mudali, son of Malaikkolundu Mudali, bought Brahmânda Subbayyan's house for 23 pagodas;

[1] Apparently M. Delarche. [2] See p. 101, n. 2, *infra*.

Suprakâsan of the St. Paul's Church bought Viswapati Sâstri's house for 20 pagodas.

When the sale was over, and M. Delarche was going home, he said that it should be proclaimed by tom-tom that five houses would be sold at outcry to-morrow.

I hear to-day that people have accused Muttayyan (son of Arumpâtai Pillai) who went to Arumpâtai Pillai's Choultry with his family and goods, of intending to depart if troubles arose. I do not know what the lame Savarimuttu's 50 peons posted at Arumpâtai Pillai's Choultry will say. Yesterday Savarimuttu brought in Muttayyan with his goods, women's cloths, pillows, mattresses and even the choultry vessels; and carried him before Madame at seven o'clock this morning. Madame is said to have ordered Muttayyan to go to his house, leaving with her all the women's cloths, etc. I do not know what they were or their value. His property is said to include silver fittings for harness and palankin, which he offered to pledge with Valudâvûr Râmabhadra Reddi for 500 rupees; and he had kept these himself to be pledged. The women's cloths belong to his own people. Ariyappa Mudali sent me word about this by Elaichiyappan. I do not yet know whether it is true or not.

At seven o'clock the Governor read letters from Barthélemy about the arrival of the ships at Madras and the letters brought by them. I have not heard their contents yet; but I shall hear this evening or to-morrow morning.

Two or three European soldiers who remained in the hospital pretending sickness during the siege were tied to a beam of wood with two cross-pieces, and ten coolies followed by a dozen Europeans, were ordered to carry it round to the beating of drums. A sheep's skin was tied round their necks; their faces were smeared with charcoal and cowdung; and they were carried through all the streets; and at last to the Governor's house. Madame questioned the Governor about it, and they were released, and given five rupees. It is said that they have been thus put to shame so that others may fear to do the like.

As the Governor was busy with his letters, I only visited him in the afternoon and could not talk with him. He sent for me at half-past six this evening. He was in the writing-room smoking, and reading the long letters received from Europe in reply to the letters sent before. When I went and paid my respects, he asked how many bullock-loads of paddy had come into the bazaar. I replied about 400. He said, 'They are selling paddy at five measures. As it is being brought in in large quantities, can you not tell them to sell it at six?' I replied that they refused to give more than five measures. He added, 'You must explain to them and buy it at six measures. If you cannot, I shall tell some one else to.' I said that it would be advantageous to us and that I would try to buy at that price. Then a European came to talk with

the Governor, so I went to the nut-godown. There I heard of the death at Nagore of Malayappa Chetti's son (by his second wife) who married Chidambaram Chetti's daughter. So I went and condoled with Krishna Chetti and came home at half-past eight.

Tuesday, November 19.[1]—When I went and enquired this morning what the Governor was doing, I was told that his doors were closed and he was busy writing replies to the Europe letters received by the ships at Madras, so that they could be despatched by the same ships. So I stayed in my nut-godown. He sent for me at about eleven o'clock. When I went he asked what paddy had been brought into the bazaar. I said that from day-break till then 200 bullock-loads had come in and that more was coming. He then asked how many had come in yesterday. I replied, '468 bullock-loads of paddy, 24 of rice, 23 of horse gram, 8 of cambu, 5 of ragi, 17 of castor oil seed, 23 duppers of ghee and two bales of nut, etc. Thus grain, etc., is coming into the town in abundance, but the price has not yet reached six measures as you said. Sambâ sells at $4\frac{3}{4}$ measures and Kâr at 5. People will keep their grain if they cannot sell at that price; so it has not fallen. The Kâr harvest will be very large on account of the heavy rains, and the prices will naturally fall; those who have stores

[1] *8th Kârttigai, Vibhava.*

of grain will cease to keep them and plenty of grain will come in, because we allow them to sell at free prices.'

Then I said that Zain-ud'Alî-Khân had written a letter of congratulations. The Governor asked if he was Husain Sâhib's brother. I said, 'Yes.' Although the letter was indifferently expressed, I reported that it praised the Governor highly, that their friendship might grow more and more. The Governor is displeased with Husain Sâhib because he manages the English affairs ; so he listened coldly and dropped the subject. He then remarked that Muhammad 'Alî Khân and Taqî Sâhib had not congratulated him. I replied that I was very grieved at it. He observed that none were so mean as they, and I agreed. He then asked what Nâsîr Jang had written. I said that there was nothing new in his letter except the request for five or six burning-glasses half a yard in diameter. He told me to reply as follows :—'The burning-glasses you desire cannot be got at present. I am now writing to Europe for them and for the handsome Europe stuffs already promised. They shall be sent to you. Anwar-ud-dîn Khân, the Nawâb, is incapable, so there has been great war between us and the English. If he had been wise, this would not have happened. Moreover when the English besieged us, 'Abd-ul-jalîl was sent with an army to their help. Out of respect for you, I have forgiven him ; but please order them not to help our enemies in future.

If, in spite of your writing, he helps the English again, I cannot excuse him, and will punish him more than words can say.' As he ordered such a letter to be sent at once, I think that the news about two of the squadrons must be true. No ship can arrive now. I think the news must have been brought by the Mascareigne ships at Madras, as the Governor listened carelessly to Imâm Sâhib's letter that came on Saturday. As I wrote at the time, Imâm Sâhib's reply to my congratulatory letter was expected shortly, and the Governor said that we could answer Imâm Sâhib when this other letter had been received; and he told me to answer Imâm Sâhib's son that his congratulatory letter was late in coming. But after reading the letters brought to Madras by the ships, the Governor told me to write to Nâsîr Jang and Imâm Sâhib that the English intended to attack us again and that no help should be given to them. From this I suppose the news has come that ships can be expected only in April or May, not in January; but it will turn out as God wills; no one knows.

The Governor then asked me to write as follows to Vakîl Subbayyan at Trichinopoly :—'Find out the terms on which 'Abd-ul-jalîl helped the English, and what batta was paid him and his troops. Find out and report at once what the English Vakîl is arranging with Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn Khân and others.' As the Governor who has never mentioned such a thing or lent his ears to such matters ordered

me to write that at once, I think that the *Cibèle's* news from Mauritius must have led him to believe that ships would sail in January and arrive here in March or April. Moreover only last night he sent for me and ordered me to get grain quickly. Everything will be known hereafter.

Kâlavây Kumara Pillai told me that lame Savarimuttu and Ignace, the Topass, told Arumpâtai Pillai's son Muttappan, who was seized at Arumpâtai Pillai's Choultry with women's cloths, silver harness and palankin ornaments and 500 rupees, and kept by Madame in the kitchen, that he would be released if he paid 1,000 rupees and gave them something for themselves. Muttappan is said to have agreed. When the balance of 500 rupees was taken to her, Madame said that she had spoken to the Governor about this and that she would take the amount after asking him about it again. Muttappan objected that the Governor might do this and that. But Madame said, 'You need not fear. What did he do to the blind Appu who stole thousands and thousands? You will be dealt with likewise. Were you caught in the act of carrying anything away? The Governor will never ask you about it. If he does, say that you were going out in your palankin with its ornaments, and women's cloths.' Vîrâ Nâyakkan heard from Kumara Pillai that Muttappan went away on these words of Madame.

I wrote to Vakîl Subbayyan according to the Governor's orders, and sent the letter to Trichinopoly by Chidambaram and other peons.

Wednesday, November 20.[1]—Madame Dupleix went out early to Olukarai this morning to attend the feast to be given the Governor by M. d'Auteuil. The Governor went later, having ordered me to write out the letter to Nâsîr Jang and have it ready. I had a draft written by Madanânda Pandit, revised it, told him to have it recopied and then came home.

The Mahé peons arrived after the Governor had returned home at six o'clock. They say that peace has been made in Europe between the English and the French. Europe letters to this effect have been received by the English at Tellicherry from Europe. The news was written by the Captain to M. Louët[2] at Mahé, and the latter has written it to the Governor. The Governor is overjoyed at this news. The sepoys entertained by the English at Tellicherry have been disbanded. This is the news brought by the Mahé Brâhmans [ ].

Thursday, November 21.[3]—I went this morning to M. Delarche's house and asked if he had bought the Pirambai Âchâriyâr's house. He sent word that he had bought it for 51 pagodas in spite of Râmachandra Ayyan's bidding against him. I thanked him and went to the Governor's. On seeing

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[1] *9th Kârttigai, Vibhava.* [2] See vol. iv, p. 210 *ante.*
[3] *10th Karttigâi, Vibhava.*

me, he said, 'English and French ambassadors have met to treat, and peace will be made. As many men have been slain, the ambassadors have signed an agreement that for six months from the date of publication in any place there should be a suspension of arms. An English sloop has brought a letter with this news to Tellicherry. On receiving it, the chief of Tellicherry informed M. Louët, our Directeur at Mahé, and also wrote to him; that is how we have received the news from the English. As there will be no more fighting either by land or by sea, write to Jayanti Râman and others to send many boats as usual.[1]' I said I would write accordingly. Though the Governor should be rejoiced at this news, his speech betrayed little joy. The truth will be known hereafter.

He then called me, produced an account in his own handwriting, and, telling me that it showed the moneys owed by Chandâ Sâhib and Khân Bahâdûr, asked me to read it to jemadar 'Abd-ul-rahmân. Accordingly I went to the nut-godown and wrote the following for 'Abd-ul-rahmân and Râjô Pandit:—

Amount due from Chandâ Sâhib—

10,000 rupees on his bond executed on May 3, 1742, with interest at ten *per cent.* up to November 3, 1748, that is, for six years and a half, 6,500 rupees—total 16,500 rupees;

[1] Jayanti Râman was a merchant engaged in the grain-trade to the northward.

Amount due from Khân Bahâdûr—

[1,000] pagodas on his bond executed on November 13, 1742, with interest for six years up to November 13, 1748, at ten *per cent.* 600 pagodas;

Amount due on his bond executed in February 1743 2,000 pagodas with interest thereon for five years and three-quarters up to November 1748, at ten *per cent.*—1,150 pagodas. Total, 4,750 pagodas;

Also a sum of 1,000 rupees lent in March 1745. The total amount lent comes to 17,500 rupees and 4,750 pagodas.

I made 'Abd-ul-rahmân and Râjô Pandit also write this account. They wrote accordingly, saying that the sums due to the Governor and to me and to M. du Bausset according to his writing came to about 50,000 rupees. They added that they would tell Razâ Sâhib and inform the Governor of what he said. Then they went away.

I then went to the Governor's, meaning to ask him whether the letters I had written to Nâsîr Jang and Imâm Sâhib could be despatched, and to tell him that I had written the accounts for 'Abd-ul-rahmân. He asked if Arunâchala Chetti had not yet come from Lâlâpêttai. I said that he must have been hindered by the rains, but that he would be here soon. He observed that Arunâchala Chetti had not returned sooner because he had intended to run away if the English had won. I answered that he had been misrepresented to the Governor and that I was sure he

would not think of such a thing. So saying, I came home.

The *Mahânâttârs* assembled together at M. d'Auteuil's house meaning to tell the Governor that they would be ruined if their houses were taken from them for departing on account of the siege. When he saw the crowd, he asked why they had come. They told him of their trouble about the houses, but he dismissed them angrily and went inside; and then the peons came and drove them away. I heard this from one or two who were there.

I hear that chobdars brought letters to the Governor from Cuddalore and Fort St. David; but I do not know their contents.

He [1] said, 'I must question your younger brother about M. de La Bourdonnais; if he can come here, good; otherwise I must go to him.' I said that I had asked my brother but he said that he had been sick, and knew nothing about La Bourdonnais' affair. He continued, 'Then let him say what he heard and we will take it down. Malaikkolundan and Hanumantayyar were there and have been ordered to give an account of what happened; I shall write their depositions to-morrow.' I said, 'They were present from first to last; but my younger brother went with M. de La Bourdonnais, M. d'Espréménil, M. Dulaurens, etc. Then M. d'Espréménil went back

[1] Apparently M. Guillard, who had charge of the examination into La Villebague's conduct.

again, after staying at Sadras, but the others came here and did not return' He answered, 'Let him say what he knows.' I said I would tell him.

Friday, November 22.[1]—I went this morning to M. Delarche's house, and asked respectfully that the Chettis' houses might be exempted. Then I went to the Governor's, where I saw M. Bertrand, and asked him to write bills for my big garden that was destroyed, near the Valudâvûr gate, and the new garden beyond the Bound-hedge, and got the Governor's signature; the bills must be taken to M. Delarche and M. du Bausset, as the three arbitrators appointed must value the gardens, enter their extent in cawnies and the assessment, and sign the paper together with M. Delarche and M. du Bausset according to the orders. So I got M. Bertrand to write the bill for the two gardens, obtained the Governor's signature, and took it away with me. I will give it to M. du Bausset and M. Delarche to-morrow morning.

A letter of congratulations was received yesterday by the Governor on his success over the English from the son of Najîb Quli, formerly amaldâr of Villiyanallûr, who has a small fort called Salûppukkadai near Tiruvannâmalai, with a small jaghir. He also asked the Governor to send him four bottles of strong waters as a remedy for his lack of hunger. The Governor laughed when he read this, said that the letter was written only for the

[1] *11 th Kârttigai, Vibhava.*

strong waters, and told me to answer with compliments that four bottles of brandy would be sent. He also gave an order to M. Cornet for four bottles of brandy, and told me to send them. I gave the four bottles to Najîb Quli's son's messenger and sent him away with a reply.

When the Europeans and sepoys coming from Mahé reached Sâlavâkkam, which is under the Government of Miyân Sâhib of Utramallûr, on their way to Madras (having heard that the English were besieging Pondichery and that therefore they could not go thither), they were seized by the English and Muttu Mallâ Reddi's men. Some escaped but the rest were made prisoners. A letter from the former was reported to the Governor a fortnight ago, saying that in their flight they had lost two horses, their property, swords, women's cloths, etc., that Miyân Sâhib's agents and farmers had seized and plundered them, and that they had no choice but to give up all they had in order to escape to Madras. As Sâlavâkkam is in the killa of Chingleput, a letter was sent to the killedar. He replied, 'Sâlavâkkam is not mine. Moreover, when the English were pursuing the French, a Padre and four or five Europeans took shelter in Chingleput owing to the troubles; I hid them and told the English that none were with me. I told the French that I would send them to Madras with my peons when I had received an answer to the letter I had written. They were accordingly

sent, and the commandant of Madras wrote me a letter of compliment which I still have. When you were besieged and the English were pursuing your Mahé people with a large army, I helped them to escape. In the face of this, your letter is very strange. Moreover I do not meddle in other people's affairs; I am your man.' When I reported this to the Governor, he asked to whom Sâlavâkkam belonged. I replied that Miyân Sâhib of Utramallûr was the renter. He ordered me to write to him; so I wrote accordingly and sent Ellappan (who had returned from Chingleput) with one of 'Abd-ul-rahmân's sepoys who was plundered at Sâlavâkkam. The Sâhib pretending that he did not know how to tell a lie replied that the English dubâsh, Rangappa Nâyakkan, had written to him for the two horses, women's cloths, swords, etc., which he had sent and got a receipt for. He also sent copies of the receipt and Rangappa Nâyakkan's letter. When I reported this to the Governor, he said, 'The defenceless should, in justice, be protected when pursued by an enemy, or else both parties should be refused entrance to the territory. But instead of that, he delivered our men to the enemy, and is not ashamed to write that he got a receipt and delivered to the enemy, on their request, the goods which his own men had stolen. He has behaved, not like a gentleman, but like the mean fellow which his letter shows him to be.' So saying, he dismissed me, and I came home as it was noon.

I heard nothing worth writing in the afternoon.

I hear a letter was received yesterday from Mr. Boscawen, Rear-Admiral, at Fort St. David, saying that there was to be a suspension of arms for six months from the date of publishing the ambassadors' order in any place. M. Bussy told me the Governor had replied that he had no confirmation of this news, that he wished to God they would make peace, and that he might receive news. If ships do not arrive, he may suppress it; but if they come he will publish it.

Saturday, November [23] [1].—When I went to the Governor this morning, he said, 'Two gentlemen are coming from Mahé. Send two dhoolies, fifty of 'Abd-ul-rahmân's sepoys, and two Brâhmans who know the way to give them this letter before they reach the Âttûr limits or to wait there until they arrive.' When I told the people to get ready, the Brâhmans asked me to give them the Mysore cowle; so I gave it them, as they asked, and sent them off.

The Governor then said, 'I hear that, when your younger brother was questioned about the Madras affairs, he told M. Guillard that he knew nothing about them. You have disappointed me.' I replied, 'You know I am never indifferent in your affairs, that I will give my body and life for you; and that I never act contrary to your

[1] *12th Kârttigai, Vibhava.*

words. My evil fortune must have made you think otherwise of me. I hear that at nine o'clock yesterday, M. Panon and M. Guillard, having taken their seats, told him he knew what had been written in a letter, what had happened between M. de La Bourdonnais and you and between M. d'Espréménil, etc., and M. de La Bourdonnais, and other things, and desired him to make a deposition. He replied that he had heard about three or four of the articles but that he knew nothing of the rest. He said he had heard that M. de La Bourdonnais had been given 130,000 pagodas in diamonds and rubies, rings and other jewels, that he had agreed to take 11 lakhs of pagodas and the Company's goods at the Fort, half the guns, muskets, powder, shot, etc., that he had thus sold Madras to the English, that a salute of 21 guns had been fired, that Mr. Morse had taken possession of Madras and issued orders at the gates and throughout the town, that Mr. Monson and M. de La Villebague opened the godowns every night, but it was not known what they did; that Coffrees and others had removed certain goods, which André, a Topass, packed and sent on board ship; that about 200 rupees' worth of tutenague in the town had been carried out of the Fort and that some goods had been put on a sloop off St. Thomé and despatched to Mascareigne with an English pass. He wrote that he had heard all these things. M. Guillard asked if he knew

that La Bourdonnais had been offered diamonds, etc., with 130,000 pagodas, as a bribe and if he had been present when it was given. He replied that he had been in constant attendance on M.d'Espréménil, for which purpose he had been sent by the Governor, that he had not been in confidential employ, and that he had been without even a quarter of an hour's leisure. He had had to supply the sailors with stores, provisions and even water, so that he had been busy all day long, and when Persian letters were received or if there was news about the Nawâb, he had answered the questions put to him without any discussion. When he says all this, how can M. Guillard tell you that he professed ignorance?' The Governor answered, 'Very well, he could have seen nothing; but let him say what he heard.' M. Guillard was then sent for, but said that his having heard things would prove nothing and that he could only depose to what he had seen. The Governor grew very angry with M. Guillard and asked him to bring the papers. When they were brought, the Governor read them, and dismissed M. Guillard, having settled the matter. He then talked with me very pleasantly.

He sent for me again, and said that he wanted a bracelet weighing 50 pagodas. I replied that I would enquire, and get it for him. He then told me to settle writer Tândavarâya Pillai's affair, the appointment of a man in the place of Âsârappan (son of Savarimuttu Mudali) who is dead, and

Kandâl Guruvappa Chetti's affair. He said that the Tamils were ungrateful for his treatment of them. I replied, 'They say they will never forget the protection you afforded to the people of this town during the siege. But people tell you false things in order to make you angry with the towns-people.' The Governor said, 'No, no, I know well that they speak ill of me.'

As I was going, Tyâgu told me that Tânappa Mudali wanted a passport to carry him to Olukarai. Tânappa Mudali stood silent, and the Governor signed with his hand to get the passport and give it him. Then he went into Madame's room. I asked Tânappa Mudali what he meant by applying for passes like that. He replied, 'Your power has given place to Madame's. The peon was trouble-some, so I came to get a pass.' So saying he went to the Second. I then went to the nut-godown.

I met M. Guillard on the way and he asked what I had told the Governor. I replied, 'The Govern-or was angry with me because my younger brother said nothing when questioned by you yesterday. When he wrote down what he heard, he was asked whether he had seen it. He replied that he had not, and that it was only what he had heard. The Governor said that ten thousand things having been heard were as good evidence as if they had been seen; and then he ordered you to be sent for.' M. Guillard said, 'What you say is true. He sent for me and got angry. I told him what I had said

to your younger brother. I do not approve of this unjust way of dealing. I do not mind his sending for me. What about the palankin-pole I asked you for?' I replied that I had been unable to get it on account of the siege but that I would get it before Pongal. I then went to the nut-godown, and he went to the Governor.

The Governor sent for me at six o'clock in the evening and reminded me about the gold bracelet. I said I would get it to-morrow. He said he wanted it at once, not to-morrow. I then went to the nut-godown and came home at half-past eight.

Yesterday I got the declaration for the two gardens signed by M. Bertrand and the Governor. I gave it this morning to M. Delarche and M. [du Bausset] (who were going in a palankin to St. Paul's church) near the bridge by the west gate of the Fort.

Sunday, November 24.[1]—The Governor sent for me soon after he had returned from the Church after hearing mass, and asked if paddy were not selling at six measures. I said, 'Annamuli[2] is selling at five measures and a half; it will sell in two or three days at six measures.' He said, 'M. Delarche told me that the large kind of paddy called Manakattai was selling at six measures.' I said that a certain man was selling it at that rate, and that, in two or three days, Annamuli would sell

[1] *13th Kârttigai, Vibhava.*
[2] This is said to be a fine kind of Samba paddy, cultivated in Tanjore.

at the same rate. He got angry at its not being sold at six measures and went in.

About an hour afterwards he asked whether Shaikh Mahammad Mukarram was the name of the amaldâr of Mylapore and who was the renter of Manimangalam. I enquired and told him that the amaldâr of Mylapore was Shaikh Muhammad Mukarram and that a Vaishnava Brâhman, the Jîyar[1] at Conjeeveram, was the renter of Manimangalam.

Then he asked why Arunâchalam had not come. I explained that it was on account of the death of his elder brother's son and that he would come in seven or eight days. He said, 'I do not reckon on that. Should we not settle the Company's accounts and strike the balance?' I replied, 'Some copper and broadcloth have been sent, and the accounts can be settled only after the sale proceeds have been entered. This is the cause of the delay. About 80,000 pagodas have been paid to the Company, and about 20,000 pagodas are still due. There are also vermilion and other goods worth 10,000 pagodas, and cotton worth more than 10,000 pagodas. They were not sold owing to the troubles, but the money will be paid as soon as the goods are sold.' He then said, 'I hear that you have received 10,000 pagodas.' I replied, 'I may have to pay 10,000 pagodas, or they may have to pay me something.

[1] The religious head of a Vaishnava *mutt*.

Moreover there will be transactions between them and others in the town. But it does not concern the Company whether I pay them or they me. The merchants have given receipts for the goods they purchased from the Company, and they have also receipts for what they have paid in. The Company's transactions are known to all.' He agreed, and observed that I had not settled his business. I replied, 'The siege hindered matters, but I shall settle everything in two or three months, and I shall be the author of all your prosperity, thereby winning your greater favour.' It was then about half-past eleven and the clock in the Governor's house struck, so I was overjoyed. He was pleased with my words, and I said that everything would turn out as I had said. He then got up and went into his room, and I went to the nut-godown.

Madame Dupleix reported to the Governor what Kâlahasti Subbayyan's son and Venkatêsa Ayyan have been arranging with her for the last fifteen days by means of Malaikkolundan. The Governor settled the affair. I said very plainly, 'The merchants may owe the Company money, but how does that affect my dealings with them? I have had ten thousand transactions with the merchants. What! Is it for the first time? It has been so for many years. I shall pay them what I owe them; what has the Company to do with that? and I shall get from them what they owe me. The Company is not concerned.' I think God designed my welfare

when this matter was brought up. God's favour may turn even the slanders of evil men into benefits, just as His anger will convert into evil a man's efforts to do good. So by God's grace, no one can injure me. What more proof is needed ?'

The Governor sent for me after it had struck twelve and said that he wanted a bill of exchange for 10,000 rupees payable at Masulipatam. I came home saying that I would enquire and get it.

JUNE 1749.

Thursday, June 26.[1]—At sunrise, a singlemasted sloop, flying the *flamme-de-guerre*[2] arrived from Mascareigne. All thought that she must bring news of peace, as she came into the roads in spite of the Europe ships lying there, and in spite of the captains' firing warning guns; so the Europeans who were looking on thought that she must have extraordinary news. When the catamaran-people brought the letters ashore, I heard that she was the same sloop that sailed from here for Mascareigne in February last, and I heard the names of the boat and her captain. But when he came ashore, there was no special news, except that his boat may fly the *flamme-de-guerre,* and that she had no news except what had been brought by the ships from Mascareigne.

Madanânda Pandit tells me as follows:—Madame Dupleix once sent for him and said:—'The Tamil letters to the Tanjore Râjâ, Manôji Appâ and his man Bâlâji Pandit, sent by head-peon Savarimuttu, have been suppressed by Bâlâji Pandit, who reported them neither to Manôji Appâ nor to the Râjâ We must write to them in their own language, as is customary.' When Madanânda Pandit agreed that such letters had usually been written in Marathi, she told him to write as I

[1] *16th Âni, Sukla.*

[2] See Weber, *La Compagnie des Indes*, p. 519.

do when I have received the Governor's instructions. Madanânda Pandit asked what should be written, and was told to write as follows:—'I wrote to Bâlâji Pandit in Tamil to tell you and the Râjâ that, if Devikôttai were given to us, we could see that the English did you no harm. As Devikôttai was not given to us, the English planted their flag there. I am much grieved at this. Do not trust Bâlâji Pandit; he favours the English and Kâttigai, and betrays you. You are not aware of this. He is secretly corresponding with Kâttigai as is well known in Fort St. David and Cuddalore. We cannot send an army against them as peace has been made between our King and theirs. Being your elder brother's wife, I am your sister; so I write lest harm should befall you. The four bombardiers with an officer whom we sent to you must be sent to Kârikâl. Pâvâdai Nâyakkan's letter to the Governor of Kârikâl has given great pleasure.' This timid letter was written, with others to the Râjâ and Manôji Appâ as though from some unknown person, without the Governor's or her signature. Such letters with other details were written, and the packet was sealed with the Governor's large seal, and despatched.

When Madanânda Pandit told me this, I said, 'Though they could not know from the letters themselves who wrote them, yet they will read the seal on the packet.' He replied that that had not occurred to them.

The Tanjoreans afterwards replied, 'Cannot you, who have always favoured us, send a thousand sepoys with weapons, shot and powder? Can you not say that Kârikâl is under us and that you acquired it by a treaty? Of what use only writing kind letters?' On reading these letters Madame Dupleix said that they had been written by Bâlâji Pandit without the knowledge of either the Râjâ or Manôji Appâ. Madanânda Pandit added that [the Tanjoreans] had only asked for 1,000 European soldiers and sepoys, while [the French] thought they had done enough by giving promises which procured them a grant of villages[1]. I said, 'What power have we? The proverb says, the foot must move as the dancing-master orders. We must write as we are bid.' I then sent him away and came home at eight o'clock at night [ ].

Saturday, June 28.[2]—The Governor sent for me at six o'clock to-day and said he had heard that Chandâ Sâhib and Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân had reached Kadappanattam Passes. He asked if it were true. I replied, 'If it were true, it would have been known at Arcot, and no one would have been there now. Chandâ Sâhib and Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân wrote to you that they would arrive about the beginning of Rajab, that is, the

[1] When the English seized Devikôttai, Pratâb Singh applied for help against them to the French on the ground that when Kârikâl was granted to the latter, the French promised assistance against the enemies of Tanjore.

[2] *18th Âni, Sukla.*

[4th or 5th] of our Âni[1], after receiving presents from the Pâdshâh and feasting for three days. It is now the 11th or 12th of Rajab, and they may be five or six days on their way. Knowing this, people would say that they were near at hand. I do not think they can have reached the Passes.' He then said, 'A letter brought by a camel-man from Arcot, desiring some medicines from the St. Paul's priests, says that Chandâ Sâhib has reached the Passes; a priest told me so.' Then he sent for 'Abd-ul-rahmân to tell him the news. He again sent for him and gave him a kettledrum. On his way back, he told me what the Governor had given him and then went to Chandâ Sâhib's son. The Governor sent for me again and told me to get for him twelve pikals[2] of sandalwood. I said I would do so and came away.

Vakîl Subbayyan's letter, received at six to-night, says:—'Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn Khân sent for me and said that Chandâ Sâhib's son, who is with you, was preparing to join his father, that he might do so if he pleased, that none would hinder him, but that he should not be allowed to remain with you; and he desired me to write to you so that you might tell the Governor. The Nawâb has also written to the Governor about this and you will see his letter. It is rumoured that Chandâ Sâhib and

[1] *I.e.*, June 14 or 15.

[2] A weight used principally in China and in the Malay Archipelago. On the Coromandel Coast it was reckoned at 133⅓ lbs. *avoir.*

Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân will soon arrive. All the merchants at Arcot have been removing for the last two days to Vellore, Arni and elsewhere.'

Besides this, we also received a letter from Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn Khân desiring us not to let Chandâ Sâhib's son remain here. I do not know what the Governor will say when I report it to him to-morrow morning. I shall write it to-morrow. So it has pleased God to order Chandâ Sâhib's affairs for the present. We shall see what happens.

Sunday, June 29.[1]—I went to the Fort this morning, and settled with M. Cornet the account of the painting charges; I am to receive from M. Guillard the balance of 2,554 rupees and odd. M. Cornet said he would sign the account when M. Miran had written out the fair copies of the accounts, as he has been desired to do. I asked for the amount to be given me, saying that it could be recovered afterwards. He sent for M. Droüet[2], and asked him what rupees he had. He replied that he had about as many as were needed and was ordered to pay me. Accordingly M. Droüet paid me 2,854 (*sic*) rupees. I took it and went to the nut-godown.

Then the Governor returned from Church after hearing mass. As soon as he had had his coffee, I reported the contents of Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn

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[1] *19th Âni, Sukla.*

[2] Droüet was a *Sous-marchand* who came out to India after having gone bankrupt at Paris. He was employed in the Export-Warehouse. *Arch. des Col.*, C² 15.

Khân's letter received last night:—'Certain men in these parts, having assembled forces, know not what they do. In order to punish them suitably, Nâsîr Jang is marching with Saiyid Lashkar Khân and 10,000 horse, cannon and a powerful army. Moreover Nimbhâji and the son of Sultân Râjâ Chandrasên, have reached Kalpi with 5,000 foot each and 25,000 horse in all. You know that Chandâ Sâhib, who quitted Satâra and went to Chittirakal Bâman, has lost his son[1], and has become as it were a lame man. I hear that his second son, who lives at Pondichery, is collecting forces to join his father. No one will hinder him, so permit him to go. You will be blamed if you keep him with you; therefore on sight of this letter send him out. I write thus by reason of our friendship. On no account permit him to remain with you.'

He observed he had heard that the Nawâb had reached Gingee. I replied that I had not heard of his coming this side of Arcot, but he said that 'Abd-ul-rahmân had told him so. As he was walking up and down, I said that Anwar-ud-dîn Khân had sent for the Vakîl and told him among other things that Chandâ Sâhib's son ought not to be allowed to remain here. He went in without replying, and I went to the nut-godown.

Chinniya Chetti, Safdar 'Alî Khân and Râmâ Râo, son of Narasanna Pandit wrote that they would

[1] *i.e.*, Abid Sâhib who was killed in the Bednûr war.

come from Villiyanallûr to Arumpâtai Pillai's Choultry this afternoon and requested me to meet them there. So I went to Arumpâtai Pillai's Choultry, and as we were talking, Chinniya Chetti said, 'Before the war I lived at Madras but went to Conjeeveram during the troubles and remained there even after Madras was captured by the French, though it was my former home. I collected the Conjeeveram rents; and had to borrow twenty or thirty thousand rupees from the merchants of the town to make good the amount in arrears. I paid this to the renter, but received only a note for it, and have no prospect of recovering the money. But as I could not repay the merchants, I was blamed falsely and beaten and dishonoured. If I had complained to the Subahdar, I should only have lost more money and been turned out of the villages. Thus having lost both money and honour, I left that place. Râmâ Râo, Narasanna Pandit's son, unable to get any post, resolved to acquire wisdom and lead a religious life with what little he had left. So we first determined to come to Pondichery and live under your protection. But we hear that Madame's authority is supreme. Formerly when Pondichery was mentioned, people said that the town was not safe, for men were not treated according to their merit, and all feared to go there, though they might have got lakhs of pagodas by going. Their fear was as if mingled with the oil of castor-seeds. But now that Madame

rules the town, it so stinks that people run far at the mere sound of its name. We have therefore resolved not to visit Pondichery, but have come here to see you on our way to Fort St. David. Now having seen you, we shall set out to-morrow morning.' When I pressed them to enter the town, eat and then depart, they replied that they had openly spoken their fears and that no persuasion could move them. I told them their fears were groundless, and spoke at length of the greatness and hospitality of the town, but prevailed nothing. I then said I would send out rice, dhall, etc., to-morrow and bid them farewell after we had eaten together. They agreed and said that the friendship which had subsisted between them and me for two generations had made them desire to see me once more, and that our friendship must increase by trade. 'By God's mercy,' I said, 'it will surely happen.' So I complimented them and took leave. Râmâ Râo, son of Narasanna Pandit, gave me a white shawl and Chinniya Chetti, a diamond ring worth 20 pagodas and a pearl necklace, such as women wear, worth about 30 pagodas. If Râmâ Râo's shawl had been new, it would have been worth 20 pagodas; but as it is old, it is only worth ten. Having received these presents, and taken leave, I went to Arumpâtai Pillai's Choultry, and inquired after Monsieur and Madame Auger who are staying there on account of their health, talked with them for half an hour about trivial matters, and then came home.

JULY 1749.

Tuesday, July 1.[1]—I went to the Governor this morning. As he had been at the comedy that was played last night in the Fort, he slept till ten, and, when he got up, he was cross and irritable. Ever since he read the letters brought by the Surat messengers twenty days ago, he has been very irritable and sullen. He has been looking dejected and has not attended to anything, even his trade. He used to listen with laughter for even two hours to any matter which interested him; but now he seems to have forgotten all that. I have been watching him daily for the last twenty or twenty-five days, and he has been very sad. The day on which the ships arrived from Mascareigne, I thought him even angrier and more troubled than before. I think some terrible news must have come from Europe; otherwise he would not be so downcast. All people, even the women beating rice, talk of the coming change of governors. Whether a new one comes or the present one departs, everything will come to pass as my destiny demands; so I keep up my courage. But I cannot tell why the Governor is so sorrowful. I do not know how La Bourdonnais' affairs have gone in Europe; perhaps the

[1] *21st Âni, Sukla.*

Governor has been sent for on that account.[1] His sorrow is indescribable. As the great man[2] wrote, 'A mirror reflects what appears before it, and the face betrays what is in the mind.' Such is the Governor's case. We shall see what happens.

I went to the Fort this morning to see the Yânâm cloth being packed. When that was done and the account for the Madras chintz had been written out, the Governor, M. Cornet and M. Guillard signed it. I also wrote at the foot that I had received on account of the painting charges 2,391 pagodas, 23 fanams and 53 cash, and gave it back. M. Guillard entered this sum in the account of the Madras chintz; he also entered in my account the sum of 1,500 pagodas or 4,800 rupees advanced by M. Legou in July 1747, for painting charges; and the balance of 3,000 rupees was made up by paying in ready money 146 rupees in addition to the 2,854 rupees which M. Cornet had already paid.[3] M. Guillard then told me I could go. I said that as the sum of 4,800 rupees which I had received in July 1747, had been adjusted in the accounts, I was no longer indebted. Taking my leave, I went to the nut godown. M. Cornet was present when M. Guillard wrote out the account as above. This

[1] Ranga Pillai's conjecture is quite erroneous. So far from there being any question of the recall of Dupleix at this moment, he was seeking permission to retire. The news which so cast him down was the decision of the French Court to restore Madras to the English.

[2] Tiruvalluvar, author of the *Kural*.

[3] It does not appear how this balance arose; but it is evidently on items other than those Ranga Pillai mentions.

sum of 4,800 rupees, advanced by M. Legou on July 2, 1747 [was] omitted from that year's accounts.

Wednesday, July 2.[1]—I went to the Governor's this morning. He woke up at ten o'clock and took his coffee. After talking with one or two Europeans, he called for me, and asked if cloth had not yet been supplied for the Company. I replied that it was coming in every day. He then asked the Arcot news. I said, 'It is written that Nâsîr Jang has bestowed the title of Sakarmat Jang upon Anwar-ud-dîn Khân.[2] On this Husain Sâhib gave him a feast, and presented him with a covered[3] palankin, cloth and jewels worth about 15,000 rupees; Sampâti Râo also gave him an entertainment costing 17,000 rupees; Mahfuz Khân[4] did the same, sending his father a present of 12,000 rupees; and Munawar-ud-dîn Khân and one or two others propose to give him a feast and presents to-morrow.' I also said that the Râjâ of Bednûr had, by means

[1] [*22nd Âni, Sukla.*] The date is omitted in the Madras transcript.

[2] Cf. *Country Correspondence*, 1749, p. 13. There a letter, received at Fort St. David on April 4, reports that Nâsîr Jang has conferred the title of 'Siraj-ud-daula' on Anwar-ud-dîn; it also attributes the gift of the covered palankin mentioned below to Nâsîr Jang. In spite of these discrepancies, the two accounts probably refer to the same incident. The main difficulty is afforded by the difference of the dates. In the *Country Correspondence* these are often inserted with great carelessness; but that explanation in the present instance is unlikely, because there is a group of letters relating to the subject, all consistently dated. It may have been that the news of the grant of the title, etc., was received in April, while the sanad and palankin actually arrived in July.

[3] Reading *jâlar* for *Java*.

[4] According to the *Country Correspondence*, 1749, page 15, Mahfuz Khân was given the title of Mahfuz-ud-din Husain Khan.

of Chandâ Sâhib, settled with Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân for two lakhs and a half of rupees.[1] There is news that Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân has set up his standard, intending to march on Arcot. So the Arcot people are on the alert. The Governor said, 'I told you the day before yesterday that Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn Khân had reached Gingee. I was wrong and you were right in saying that he was still at Arcot. Anwar-ud-dîn Khân wrote three days ago that he would not hinder Chandâ Sâhib's son from joining his father with the forces he had raised, that he should be told to go, and that we should not keep him in Pondichery. I told you to speak to Chandâ Sâhib's son about it. What reply did he desire us to give?' I replied that he had answered foolishly, advising us to write that we could not send him away as he had been here so long. The Governor asked what should be written. I said, 'I think no letter need be sent. In seven or eight days we shall see what happens. If they come, we need not write at all; if not, we can write according to the situation of their affairs. I think that will be best. The messengers may be told that a reply will be sent later by our own

[1] The reference is obscure, Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn is of course Muzaffar Jang. Chandâ Sâhib seems to have taken part in a conflict between the Râjâ of Bednûr and the Governor of Chittirakal, early in 1749; but the latter is said to have been slain and Chandâ Sâhib taken prisoner. I suppose Bednûr to have been dependent on the Subah of Bijapur, which Nizâm-ul-mulk had bestowed on Muzaffar Jang; and Chandâ Sâhib's attack may have been merely an expedition to collect revenue on behalf of Muzaffar Jang.

people. But you must do as seems best to you.' He approved and asked me to tell the messengers that he was busy with the shipping and could not answer at once, but that he would send his answer by our own people. When I told them this, they refused to go; but I hear that they went when they were strictly ordered to.

Thursday, July 3.[1]—When I went to the Governor this morning, I was told that there had arrived from Mascareigne two empty ships, the *Brillant* and the *Maurice*, MM. Boisquenay and de Lagarde captains; they had set sail before there was news of peace, and were two of the six ships which reached Madras in June. The rest have sailed for Mascareigne, after landing their silver. These ships anchored off Vîrâmpattanam last night, and, coming in this morning, fired a salute. They have on board neither silver nor anything else, but have come here to take in Europe cargoes.

Although the English and the Dutch have received news overland of the laying down of arms and the signing of a general peace, yet these ships brought no news of it; but people say that Europe ships were expected when these ships sailed.

Harkaras from Chandâ Sâhib have brought letters for his son with the following news:—

'Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân having settled the Bednûr affair for two lakhs and a half is marching

[1] *23rd Âni, Sukla.*

towards Arcot. I intend visiting him to-day and will write as soon as I have done so. By the time this letter reaches you, I shall be at Gôvâla, Mulavâi[1] and thereabouts.' Madanânda Pandit interpreted the letter. I have written only the important points.

Vakîl Subbayyan's letter received this evening from Arcot says:—'I hear that messengers have brought news to Anwar-ud-dîn Khân that Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân was camping at Sîrpi. Thereupon Husain Sâhib's, Zain-ud'Alî Khân's and Sampâti Râo's families and others have been sent to Chingleput fort with Zain-ud'Alî Khân and Hukumat Râo. Anwar-ud-dîn Khân has sent his family, some to Ravattanallûr fort and some to Trichinopoly fort. The sepoys and horsemen have been given eleven months' arrears and a month's pay in advance. He has promised them that if they fight well now, and hold their ground, they shall eat at peace, but if they fly, they will lose their livelihood and be as dishonoured as widows. Thus encouraging them, Nawâb Anwar-ud-dîn Khân has set out with Mahfuz Khân, Sampâti Râo, Husain Sâhib and other great people, with their sepoys and horse and camped at Rânipêttai. He has written to Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân, "I make no difference between you and Nâsîr Jang; when Nâsîr Jang was master, I folded my arms, obeyed his orders and paid him tribute; but as you have succeeded Nâsîr Jang, the

[1] Places in the Anantapur district.

accounts and money shall be rendered to you instead of him, and I will obey your orders, and be responsible for the revenues. For the present I have resolved to send you five lakhs of rupees." I also hear that the merchants and bazaar-people have fled, but others are carrying their goods to Arcot, fearing nothing, as Hirâsat Khân [1] is Killedar of Arcot and Chandâ Sâhib's son-in-law. The Killedar has made twenty or thirty thousand rupees, by taking a rupee for every parcel of goods. Neither coolies nor bullocks can be had even at ten rupees. For these three days there has been so much confusion that not a man would stop to pick up a fallen child. It is indescribable. I do not know what else will happen.'

When I reported this, the Governor sent at once for 'Abd-ul-rahmân, told him the news, and ordered him to make ready. He also prepared and signed orders to be given to the persons concerned, to exchange the 1,400 and 1,500 muskets he had, to get 100 rounds each, four cannon, three mortars with shot, shell and powder. 'Abd-ul-rahmân took those orders, received the muskets, cannon, and other munitions of war, and carried them to his place. We shall see what happens.

At ten o'clock to-day Muttu Mallâ Reddi's family was ordered to be kept under a guard of peons in a house next to the Nayinâr's. Some one reported that they had refused to obey, so Madame Dupleix

[1] I suppose the son borrowed the father's name, as Muhammad 'Alî Khân did that of Anwar-ud-dîn.

ordered them to be taken to the choultry prison. Periyanna Nayinâr then reported that Muttu Mallâ Reddi's wife said that she would rather kill herself than be shut up in prison with Pariahs; but Madame ordered her to be dragged to the prison, and, if she resisted, to be bound hand and foot and carried by four men. So at last she was taken to prison with Bhâghîrathi, Muttu Mallâ Reddi's widowed sister, because Dakshinâmûrti and Yajnam Pattar reported that she had 10,000 pagodas' worth of property, and that by being imprisoned, she might be made to pay at least 10,000 rupees. Also five or six days ago, Pâpu Reddi was imprisoned. Dakshinâmûrti, Yajnam Pattar and even Muttu Bôlam Reddi, Muttu Mallâ Reddi's younger brother, secretly brought this about by telling Madame Dupleix that unless these people were imprisoned, no money could be collected. People will naturally think that I too am concerned in it; I would never consent to such a thing. Who but an outcaste would wish to trouble the womenfolk of great people who for generations have had the privilege of a palankin? He who pursues truth and hopes for prosperity would never think of doing so. In very truth, I have never thought, spoken or done anything to imprison or harm these people. I may not be believed, but all is known to Paramêswaran[1], and that is enough. I hear that they will pay two or three

[1] Literally 'Lord of all.' As a Vaishnava, Ranga Pillai presumably means Vishnu.

thousand for Bhâghîrathi's and Pâpu Reddi's release; but no one knows how the matter will end.

Savarimuttu is said to have been told by Madame that unless the women were imprisoned in the choultry, they would never agree about the money. I observed, 'Anything may be done to a man; but to harm a woman is an outcaste's work, not an honest man's. You and Muttu Bôlam Reddi sin in doing so, and God will punish you. You ought not to consent to these cruel acts.' They replied that they had had nothing to do with it, and that, had they known, it would never have happened. Thus they tried for long to persuade me that they had had no hand in it. But at last I made them confess that they had brought it about and that they themselves could not set matters right. They then whispered together. I said, 'God has been pleased to lay this matter on others, and not on me, because of my father's virtue. People may think that nothing happens without my knowledge; but I never spoke to the Governor or Madame about Muttu Mallâ Reddi's affair or what Muttu Reddi, Muttu Bôlam Reddi, or the Pattar have done; nor did they consult me. Paramêswaran knows it. I need not write [*sic*] about it in greater detail.' I then told Dakshinâmûrti and Yajnam Pattar that they knew the whole matter and dismissed them. As I was going to the Governor's this morning, I heard that they[1] had been imprisoned in the choultry.

[1] *i.e.*, Muttu Mallâ Reddi's womenfolk.

The Governor sent for me at twelve o'clock, and said, 'I hear that Muttu Reddi had a mare which on his death passed to his brother. Send a peon to fetch and give it to M. d'Auteuil.' M. d'Auteuil who then came said, 'A horse and a mare have to be sent as a present to the king of Cochin-China. The horse has already been sent; and the Reddi's mare is the only one in the town that will match the horse. So if it be got, it can be sent by the *Mâchault* which is sailing for Cochin-China.' I went at once and told Vîrâ Nâyakkan to get the mare from Muttu Bôlam Reddi, (Muttu Mallâ Reddi's younger brother) and deliver it to M. d'Auteuil. Vîrâ Nâyakkan came and said that he had done so. Thereupon Dakshinâmûrti came and asked how Muttu Bôlam Reddi's mare could be seized like this, saying, 'How can we trust you if you do such injustice?' I said, 'Why fear when the Governor's wife is on your side? Complain to her and she will tell the Governor and get it released.' As I dismissed them thus, they said, 'We have told her, but without effect.' The mare was sent on board this evening.

Madanânda Pandit interpreted as follows the contents of the letter which Razâ Sâhib, Chandâ Sâhib's son, received to-night:—'Chandâ Sâhib will come with Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân, settling with Hirâsat Khân for 5 lakhs of rupees on reaching Sâtghar, with Murtazâ 'Alî Khân for 10 lakhs on reaching Vellore and with Mîr Asad Khân Sâhib and other Killedars for 25 lakhs on reaching Arcot.'

Saturday, July 5.[1]—When I went to the Governor's this morning, he said, 'M. Poivre[2] arranged for a washerman to accompany him to Cochin-China; but though the man agreed, he refuses to go now that the time has come. Tell him that he must go.' I sent for the man, fixed his pay at four pagodas a month, advanced him 11 pagodas for four months, together with Fuller's earth, chunam and other things that he wanted, and sent him on board.

The Governor sent for me again, and told me to get 2,000 rupees. I got this sum from the merchants. Ranga Pillai, the Governor's writer, came to find me at the nut-godown, and asked me what he should say if the Governor inquired who had provided the money. I told him to say that I had done so and enter it in my account.

I heard the following report to-day:—Kadayam Venkatâchala Nâyakkan was formerly English Dubâsh at Cuddalore, and on account of the dispute between the right and left-hand caste people, served for eight years as poligar and for three or four years after war broke out between the English and the French as head of the peons. This man took advantage of the war between the English and the Tanjore people; and acted as a spy for the

[1] *25th Âni, Sukla.*

[2] I do not know who this man was. His name does not occur in Dupleix' report on the Company's servants, dated 1750 (*Arch. des. Cols.* C[2]15); I conjecture he was a sea-captain employed in the country trade. This expedition to Cochin-China was unsuccessful, like the subsequent attempts of Dupleix.

Tanjoreans, sending them news. Learning this, the English have seized and imprisoned him, chained him hand and foot, and beaten him[1]. They say this is why people have been unable to go to and from Cuddalore for the last two days.

A time ago the Mudalis fled from Merkânam to my village of Pudupattu owing to the injustice[2] of the palace. Qâdir Husain Khân Sâhib, the Navâit Jaghirdar of Merkânam, hearing of their complaints, has forgiven them 2,200 chakrams, being the balance due since his father received the jaghir. Rich and poor have alike visited him and been forgiven 300 or 400 [chakrams ?] which was the enhanced rate due for the years *Prabhava* and *Vibhava*. Besides this cowles have also been written, settling equitably the rates of *vâram*[3] and the salt dues; and Sultân Khân, a Pathan horseman, was sent with them to Pudupêttu to read the cowle to the ryots, and settle with them, and induce them to return to Merkânam and till the ground in peace. Accordingly Sultân Khân brought the cowles yesterday and read them to Bhûmiyappa Mudali, etc., who, having made an agreement with the help of Mullâ Sâhib of Kûnimêdu, wrote me a letter of thanks,

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[1] In 1747 this man is referred to as 'Commandant of the Black Military.' (*Fort St. David Cons.*, February 21, 1747.) A return at the India Office, dated January 31, 1749 (Fac. Rec., Fort St. David, vol. 10, ff. 315, etc.) shows him as one of six commandants of sepoys, peons, etc.

[2] Reading *ittêrram* for *itturam*.

[3] The rate at which the produce of the land should be divided between landlord and cultivator.

saying that they had returned to Merkânam with the horseman and that they had settled matters, owing to my protection, in a way they could not have done by any other means. I sent a complimentary reply.

Since the arrival of the two Mascareigne ships two days ago, the Governor's face has been clearer, and he is very cheerful. God alone knows the reason, but it will be made known in five or six days.

Sunday, July 6.[1]—After the Governor had returned from hearing Mass at Church this morning, I went and salaamed. He asked what the news was. I said that the Nawâb and others at Arcot, hearing of Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân's coming, had gone to meet him, and that the people of Arcot were flying. He then asked if any had come here. I said that no one had come.

It has been settled to send MM. Poivre and Dulaurens[2] to Cochin-China with presents to the Râjâ, open a factory under a Directeur and three or four councillors, and establish religion there, in order to carry on trade between Europe, Cochin-China, and India on the Company's account. The Governor was talking with them, and decided to despatch their vessel to-night or to-morrow with 60,000 dollars and the necessary goods, and presents (including a horse and a mare) according to

[1] *26th Âni, Sukla.*

[2] One of the two sons of the Company's servant of this name already mentioned. Both were at this time *Commis* at Pondichery.

the Company's orders. I then went to the nut-godown. There is no other news worth writing.

Monday, July 7.[1]—I went to the Governor this morning. As the *Machault* for Cochin-China has been hindered by unfavourable winds, the Governor kept going up and down to watch her.

As the accounts are made up every year to the end of June, M. Guillard brought his treasury accounts and got the Governor's signature.

Tamil letters came, one for me and the other for the Governor, from Manôji Appâ of Tanjore, without date or place. Madanânda Pandit came and said that Madame Dupleix had sent for the letters, had them interpreted by him and then gave him my letter telling him to close it again with gum, so that it might not seem to have been opened. He gave it me. The Governor's letter runs as follows:—'Be pleased to pay what is due for Kârikâl, including this year's tribute. Though the English should attack us, by your favour we shall be able to beat them off. You wrote that we had not given you Devikôttai; but you never asked for it. You said that it was written in Madame's Tamil letter; but that said nothing about it. Don't be deceived by the English hoisting a French flag. They are a treacherous people; we must be on our guard. None of the letters you have sent up to now since the retreat of the English asked to be

[1] 27th Âni, Sukla.

put in possession of Devikôttai. (In such improper terms he wrote.) Our country is yours. This is the land of charity. If you have a mind, we shall defeat the enemy. (Madanânda Pandit said that he had written in such an unfitting manner.) Every thing will be made clear when my messenger, Sivôji Pandit arrives. He must be returned quickly with the money.' I asked what Madame Dupleix had said. He replied, 'Madame said that she would tell the Governor. The Vakîl who came from there said that he wanted to see you and the Governor, and explain why he had come. Though he arrived two days ago he has had no batta, but she said she would pay it at leisure as she was very busy receiving the Europeans who had just landed.'

I hear that there is a panic in Arcot and that Kâsi Dâs Bukkanji has reached Fort St. David, having sent his money and goods to Negapatam and Udaiyârpâlaiyam. It is also written that Tiruviti Sêshâchala Chetti has reached Timirikôttai [ ].

Tuesday, July 8 [1].—I left the fort at nine o'clock this morning and went to the Governor's. As I was sitting in the front hall, I was told that 'Abd-ul-rahmân and Chandâ Sâhib's son were talking together. Presently the latter went out. Having escorted him as far as the entrance, 'Abd-ul-rahmân came back, and went to the Fort with a note from

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[1] 28th Âni, Sukla.

the Governor for a small gun. The note said that the gun should be paid for on delivery. I think that he came and talked with the Governor about sending sepoys to seize either Gôvardhana Dâs's gumastah, or Kâsi Dâs Bukkanji, who are leaving Arcot for fear of the disturbances, and to waylay and bring in Anwar-ud-dîn Khân's people and others who have money. When I reported yesterday that the Arcot people were flying in fear, the Governor said that he had heard that Kâsi Dâs Bukkanji and other rich men, such as merchants and Anwar-ud-dîn Khân's people, were being allowed to pass without being seized; and that Muhammad 'Alî Khân[1] and others were great fools. After sending for and talking with 'Abd-ul-rahmân, he then went to Madame. So I think that sepoys will be sent. Everything will be made clear from what happens.

According to Madame Dupleix' orders, the Padre at Mylapore[2] sent sepoys to seize Mullanki Bâli Chetti by a stratagem at Pulicat; and he was imprisoned at Madras. As Negapatam and Pulicat belong to the Dutch, I do not know what they wrote to M. Barthélemy, the Commander at Madras, or what he wrote to M. Dupleix. Mullanki Bâli Chetti was brought here at eleven o'clock to-day. When this was reported to the Governor, he ordered him to be

[1] *i.e.*, Chandâ Sâhib's brother, Killedar of Pôlûr.

[2] Antonio Noronha, whom Dupleix wished to establish as Governor of St. Thomé.

put in the choultry prison. I hear he was seized at Pulicat for the following reason:—A Telugu man (I do not know his name) of Madras gave to Mullanki Krishnama Chetti 5,000 pagodas, charging him to expend the interest on the Perumbûdûr temple[1] and to deal with the principal as temple property. A deed to this effect was executed ten or twelve years ago, and it was lodged in the temple. At the time when Madras was taken, the donor had died without issue. A serving girl of his told the story to a sepoy; and this thing[2] has been done to get hold of the money. As the Governor has set the example, such disorders go on. I do not know how God will protect the people.

Wednesday, July 9.[3]—When I went to the Fort I found there the new Second[4] and M. Guillard. I salaamed, and was asked to sit. Then M. Delarche came, and also Tiruchelvarâya Mudali, the choultry writer, to report to the Second. I said, 'The peons are seizing the people who bring ghee, dhall, etc., into the town, and making them grind wheat, so that they declare they will no longer bring in

[1] Srîperumbûdûr is a small town near Conjeeveram, famous as the birth-place of Râmânuja, the great Vaishnavite philosopher and reformer of the eleventh century A.D.

[2] *i.e.* the seizure of Bâli Chetti.

[3] *29th Âni, Sukla.*

[4] The new Second was Saint-Paul, who was brought down from Bengal on the death of Paradis. He had been thirty years in the Company's service, and was accused of various misdemeanours, but apparently exonerated. (Dupleix' report of 1750, *Arch. des Col.*, C2 15). He married as his second wife Ursule Albert, in 1736, and so became brother-in-law to Dupleix.

provisions. The sepoys and soldiers at the gates seize half the fuel and vegetables being brought into the town, and buy the other half at 2 cash for a fanam's worth.[1] Those who refuse or complain are beaten, robbed of their goods, and given nothing. If such things go on in the town, who will bring goods to sell? They would hardly make a profit if they sold for four fanams what they had bought for one. So why should they bring goods into the town?' When I spoke thus, M. Delarche sang to my tune; and M. St. Paul said he would enquire and speak to the Governor.

Then a carpenter came and said that a blacksmith had been carried away to grind wheat. M. Delarche told the Second that, if a blacksmith working for the Company were thus seized and carried off, much worse would be the case of other people. The Second said, 'True, I only ordered coolies to be taken. What do they mean by seizing artisans?' He then sent for the peons who had been ordered to get coolies to grind wheat. When he was asked how the Company's dues could be paid if cultivators were thus seized, he ordered them to be beaten if they did such things.

I then said, 'When the Vêdapuri Îswaran Temple gardens were taken, brass and copper vessels and jewels worth about 100 pagodas were found there. The St. Paul's priests asked for them. I told them

[1] At Pondichery, 64 cash went to the fanam.

that they belonged to the Tamil temple, but that I would tell the Governor and do as he ordered. Bronze, brass and copper vessels worth 100 pagodas were buried during the troubles, and, being found when the temple was pulled down, are now claimed by the St. Paul's priests. Are they to be given to them or to the Tamils of the temple?' He ordered them to be sent to his house. I explained that they had already been sent to the Governor. The Second observing that the lingam had not been found, M Guillard said that the Tamils must be very grieved at that. Taking my leave, I then went to the Governor's.

Thursday, July 10.[1]—Chandâ Sâhib's son, Razâ Sâhib, sent for me this morning; so I went and he said, 'Qutb-ud-dîn 'Alî Khân, Chandâ Sâhib's munshi, came last night with ten peons. Ahmad Shâh Pâdshâh has sent to Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân a parwâna for the six subahs of the Deccan this side of the Narbadâ and a dress of honour. Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân received the parwâna and the dress of honour on the third day after the new moon, namely the 4th or 5th Âni, Sukla and the 1st Rajab.[2] The parwâna was in the name of S'aadat-ul-lah Khân Bahâdûr Muzaffar Jang. Chandâ Sâhib went to welcome Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân on June the 22nd or 23rd, escorted by his son and six or seven thousand horse. So Chandâ Sâhib visited

[1] *30th Âni, Sukla.*

[2] *i.e.*, June 14 or 15.

S'aadat-ul-lah Khân Bahâdûr Muzaffar Jang and embraced him. Chandâ Sâhib has been granted a sanad as Nawâb of Arcot, Gingee, Tanjore, Trichinopoly, Madura with their territories and the forts therein. When a mansab and jaghir were formerly granted, the Nizâm gave him the title of Husain Dôst Khân; now that he has received a sanad for Arcot, the new title of [. . .] has been bestowed on him, with a covered palankin, sword and a dress of honour, and a jaghir of three taluks, viz:— [. . .] They have set out for Arcot with 14,000 horsemen, 300 bullockpeople and 14, or 15 thousand foot, in order to establish Chandâ Sâhib there, settle the country, and return. Before Chandâ Sâhib reached the passes, he wrote to me to join him there with the jemadars Shaikh 'Abd-ul-rahmân, Shaikh Hasan, etc., 2,000 sepoys, 2,000 soldiers, cannon, mortars and plenty of shot, shell, muskets, etc., and a loan of money. As the French can supply these things, and as they have protected us for the last nine years, I am to gratify them with this news, and march to the passes with their permission. S'aadat-ul-lah Khân Bahâdûr desires to see the Governor, and has sent him a letter with a dress of honour. Another letter has been sent by Chandâ Sâhib with a *kalgi turra*. As Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân has succeeded to the power of the Nizâm, the Governor should receive the dress of honour with all pomp as usual, going to meet it at the Fort gate. Parwânas have also been received

for the five killedars—Muhammad 'Alî Khân, Mîr Asad-ul-lah Khân, Hirâsat Khân, Murtazâ 'Alî Khân of Vellore, and Muhammad Taqî Khân, and they should be sent with letters by messengers. Be pleased to tell all this to the Governor and take me and Qutb-ud-dîn 'Alî Khân to him.' So saying, he asked me to go to the Governor.

I went to him at ten o'clock as soon as he awoke, and said, 'Qutb-ud-dîn 'Alî Khân, Chandâ Sâhib's munshi, has come from him He says that, when he set out, Chandâ Sâhib was at Dêvanahalli with Muzaffar Jang and that they were advancing, that he has been sent on to get all things ready to join them with Chandâ Sâhib's son, Razâ Sâhib, after satisfying you and taking your leave. Razâ Sâhib and Qutb-ud-dîn 'Alî Khân requested me to tell you that it is their wish to relate this news in person.' The Governor said, 'Very well, send for them at once.' Therefore I sent a peon. They came, and after saluting the Governor, they related what is written above, adding that Chandâ Sâhib had ordered them to get all ready, and join him. They also read to him a letter in Chandâ Sâhib's own hand asking them to satisfy the Governor in all possible ways, and requested him to receive to-morrow S'aadat-ul-lah Khân Bahâdûr Muzaffar Jang's letter and dress of honour, and Chandâ Sâhib's letter and presents, with the same pomp and grandeur with which he used to receive Nizâm's presents, going to meet them at the Valudâvûr gate. The Governor was

overjoyed, and, saying that he would do so, ordered all to be made ready. He sent for M. Duquesne and told him that the sepoys and soldiers must be drawn up with their muskets in a lane from his house to the backwater beyond the gate near the Pavalakkâra Choultry. He also sent for M. d'Auteuil, and said that the dragoons must be ordered to be in readiness. Then he sent for the master-gunner, told him that a tent must be pitched and seats arranged under a canopy as usual at the Valudâvûr gate, that a salute of twenty-one guns should be fired as the presents entered the gate, and a similar salute when they reached the Fort and his house. Then he dismissed them.

He then complimented Chandâ Sâhib's son and the munshi by enquiring after Chandâ Sâhib's and Muzaffar Jang's health in detail, and asked when they set out and where Nâsîr Jang was. The munshi replied that Nâsîr Jang was camped the other side of the Narbadâ, proposing to go to Delhi,[1] that thirty-two days ago messengers brought letters to this effect to Muzaffar Jang, that Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân and Chandâ Sâhib were enjoying good health and were always praising the Governor's valour and greatness in defeating the English, Mahfuz Khân and Muhammad 'Alî Khân, that they were eager to see him, that they were very anxious to see the cannon which fired twenty-one rounds a

[1] See Grant Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*, ed. 1912, vol. ii, pp. 29-30.

minute, and that they had promised that they would secure a correspondence between the Governor and the Pâdshâh. So saying they showed the bags containing the letters for the five killedars. The Governor asked if a man who held the position of the Nizâm should send letters in bags to killedars. I said, 'The Nizâm used to write on small sheets of paper which were sent by messengers without being put into an envelope; and he who now has that position should have done so too. But as these killedars are brother-in-law, brother or son-in-law to Chandâ Sâhib, and as Chandâ Sâhib is coming, he considered that he should show respect to them and magnify their greatness, and accordingly ordered their letters to be enclosed in bags.' The Governor agreed. He then said that the soldiers could not be sent in advance. When I had explained the matter to him, the Governor said that 300 volunteers, with their officers, M. d'Auteuil and the dragoons, M. Law, the master-gunners, with guns, mortars, grenades, shells, powder, etc., in plenty should be supplied, and asked Razâ Sâhib and the munshi when they proposed to set out. They replied, 'Saturday is an auspicious day. We will then give a public feast, as is usual on the grant of the title of Nawâb, and receive presents, sitting in order in the darbâr, so that all may offer nazars. Then, when the salutes have been fired in token of our joy, and *pân supârî* has been distributed, we will hoist our flag at Mortândi Choultry, camp there five

or six days, and march when all preparations have been made.' The Governor asked me if he ought to attend. I replied that, if he personally gave a dress of honour and received *pân supârî*, it would be as though he himself had conferred the title of Nawâb. Thereupon he ordered a salute and volleys to be fired at the Fort, and said that he would present a dress of honour and take *pân supârî*. Razâ Sâhib then said, 'Our custom is to pitch a tent, assemble there in state, receive the parwâna and presents, and then return home in procession, sit in darbâr and receive nazars.' He added that a tent might be pitched south of the Governor's house wherein all could assemble, and then the Governor could come from the *Gouvernement*, and they could receive in his presence the parwâna, presents and cloths, sent by S'aadat-ul-lah Khân Bahâdûr Muzaffar Jang, that they might then go back to the *Gouvernement*, sit in darbâr, receive nazars, etc., and depart when he and other gentlemen had taken *pân supârî*. He said, 'If you do this, the whole world will declare that you have conferred the title of Nawâb, and your glory will shine everywhere.' The Governor agreed to do so, with unspeakable joy. Having thus spoken with Chandâ Sâhib's son, and given *pân supârî* and rosewater to him and Qutb-ud-dîn 'Alî Khân, he embraced them five or six times, and gave them leave. So they departed.

The Governor then said to me and 'Abd-ul-rahmân, 'According to our agreement, the sepoys,

etc., were transferred from March 1 to Razâ Sâhib, so that there was no need to dismiss them, but we were to advance their pay. It will be five months to July 31, and I have told M. Cornet and M. Friell to write an account of the money and paddy given to your sepoys and the money given to Shaikh Ibrâhîm's 501 sepoys for that time. It will be ready in about an hour and I will send it as soon as it comes. Get a bond for the total and the parwâna for Villiyanallûr[1] from Chandâ Sâhib's son.' We took leave and went to the nut-godown, agreeing to get all written to-night after receiving the account. When it struck twelve, he went home and I did the same.

Saturday, July 12.[2]—I heard the following news to-day:—

When Chandâ Sâhib's son, Razâ Sâhib, sent word that he was about to visit the Governor at eight o'clock this morning, the latter ordered the south gate of his house to be opened, and soldiers and sepoys to be drawn up in a lane from his house to Razâ Sâhib's lodging.[3] Accordingly soldiers lined the way from Chandâ Sâhib's house to the bridge near the Second's and sepoys thence to the Governor's. Then Razâ 'Alî Khân set out in a palankin followed by Shaikh Hasan and 'Abd-ul-rahmân, etc.,

[1] The grant of Villiyanallûr, so long sought in vain from Nizâm-ul-mulk and Nâsîr Jang, was one of the conditions stipulated for French help.

[2] *32nd Âni, Sukla.*

[3] Reading *kadi* for *kattanai.*

on horseback, with fifty troopers, with music and the naubat. He arrived in state at half-past nine. On reaching the gate, he got out and a salute of fifteen guns was fired. M. Friell and the Second received him, and having embraced him took his hands and led him in. When Razâ Sâhib arrived, the Governor who was waiting in the hall, went down one step to meet him as he came up, and, taking him by the hand, led him to a seat and they sat down in the hall. Another salute of fifteen guns was fired when the parwâna was read [ ]. Having taken leave, Razâ Sâhib mounted his elephant, and, with the rest in palankins or on horse-back, went home with music and the naubat.

At about eleven, the Governor set out with the Second, the councillors, the lesser officials, and ships' captains, and went on foot to Razâ Sâhib's house. The Governor presented a dress of honour and eleven mohurs; and the councillors and other Europeans also offered mohurs as a nazar. What happened there [ ].

Tuesday, July 15.[1]—The Governor sent for me this morning, and asked if everything had been sent out to Olukarai. I said that everything would arrive there to-day. Thereupon he ordered me to send for the people and warn them to be sure that everything arrived by this evening. I agreed and came out. He sent for me again and said, 'M. Delarche is

[1] *3rd Adi, Sukla.*

coming. He wants a letter to be written saying that he should be treated with respect. So write one and give to him.' I wrote one accordingly and sent it to M. Delarche by Madanânda Pandit.

He then asked why Anwar-ud-dîn Khân was running from corner to corner. I said that naturally he was afraid, because Chandâ Sâhib's son was marching from here with 2,000 soldiers, 4,000 sepoys, 1,000 horse and artillery and because he and Mahfuz Khân well knew by experience the valour of the French. M. Delarche said, 'It will be a glorious end for this old man of 92 if he has another fight and dies in battle. He might die at any time; and any other death would be inglorious. He longs to go to battle, for all his 92 years, thinking how he will be praised if thus he closes his life. As Mahfuz Khân has plenty of money, by God's grace, he should escape and live in comfort. He who comes has the Pâdshâh's sanad and none other [ ].'

Friday, July 18.[1]—As Madame Albert, mother-in-law of M. Dupleix, Governor-General, died at eleven o'clock yesterday morning, her burial was arranged for half-past seven this morning. I went to attend it, after eating at half-past six. The Governor also went to Madame Albert's house.

At six o'clock, the flag was half-masted and minute guns were fired by the Fort and the shipping

[1] *6th Âdi, Sukla.*

in the roads until the funeral was over at a quarter to nine. About 330 guns were fired in all. When the burial service was over and all came out, the soldiers were drawn up in two lines facing the church and gave a running fire. Then the Fort and the ships fired salutes of twenty-one guns each.

As Madame Albert was being carried to the church, the soldiers formed a lane from her house to M. Boyelleau's on the west; the officers, captains and majors wore over their coats (as a man wears the sacred thread [1]) a piece of cloth six yards long tied with a knot. Black cloth a cubit long was tied on to each lance; four cubits of cloth was placed over the kettle-drums, and then these were beaten. The soldiers carried their muskets reversed as is usual at funerals. The coffin was borne by eight sergeants; the four corners of the black pall were held by four councillors, M. Desfresnes, M. Cornet, M. Saint-Sauveur and M. Minos; and M. Legou walked in front. All were clad in black, and wore scarves of black Pekin silk (in the same way as the sacred thread is worn). The other councillors and *sous-marchands* were similarly dressed and all carried lighted tapers. The other Company's servants, the Europeans and their wives, followed dressed in black. The Governor, the Second, and M. Albert, the son of the deceased, not only wore black but also had streamers of black Europe

[1] The thread worn by Brâhmans and others over the left shoulder and across the body.

cloth on their hats. Their waist-coats were embroidered with black, instead of white as usual. The palankins, chairs, etc., were draped in black. I need not add that Madame Dupleix, Madame d'Auteuil, their daughters, sons and sons-in-law, were also dressed in black. The Governor's palankin-boys, peons, dubâshes and writers wore black turbans and girdles in sign of mourning. Priests bore the crucifix and candles according to their customs, and read according to their religion, some in front and some behind the corpse. Behind the corpse marched M. Albert, the Governor, the Second and the councillors; then their ladies; and then the *sous-marchands* followed by their wives, in one procession. They passed by M. Guillard's, M. Dulaurens' and Madame Godivier's houses; and, having buried the corpse in the Capuchins' Church, all returned to Madame Albert's house, and having offered condolence went home. The Governor first took leave of M. Albert, his wife and his sister-in-law and went a few paces, and then Madame Dupleix took leave of her brother Albert who also got into a palankin and went to the Governor's house, where the Governor, the Second and the rest took bread and butter with coffee (as they usually do at eight o'clock) and went to their respective duties. Thus their mourning ended with the funeral. As M. Albert is her son, he wears black clothes; the Governor and the Second who are sons-in-law and other relatives also wore black like Madame Albert's

son, as it is usual with them to mourn for the death of a father-in-law or mother-in-law as they would for the death of their own father, mother or brother. Sons and sons-in-law are regarded as the same, as property is divided equally among sons and daughters. As the daughters' property is enjoyed by the sons-in-law, it is but just that the latter should mourn. As M. St. Paul's wife is mad, she was not informed of her mother's death nor did she attend the funeral. I attended the ceremonies throughout, and, having taken leave, went to the nut-godown.

The Governor sent for me at six o'clock this evening and said, 'Of the goods brought from Persia by M. Pelling,[1] the Englishman, the dates alone have not been sold. Send for the merchants and settle the business.'

Then he told me to write as follows to Chandâ Sâhib's son, Razâ Sâhib, and Shaikh 'Abd-ul-rahmân:—'You know that Sambu Dâs [2] has not assisted in your affairs. I heard that he has now gone to meet Chandâ Sâhib, on the news of his coming. Please write to Chandâ Sâhib, not to receive him and to put no trust in him until he has

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[1] Ranga Pillai writes *Pilâm* which I take to be a rendering of the French pronunciation of this name. If my identification is right he was probably Thomas Pelling, who later on assisted Orme in his private trade and became a member of a prominent house of agency at Madras.

[2] Sambu Dâs was one of the principal shroffs of the Carnatic, and had occupied under the Navâits a position not unlike that of the Seths in Bengal.

built a house in Pondichery, and until I write that he has built a house and is living in it.' He repeated this twice or thrice in order to impress the matter upon me, and told me to write to Razâ Sâhib and 'Abd-ul-rahmân. I thought this an improper thing to write, but I agreed, as I knew he would be angry if I said so.

He then said, 'The two English ships which arrived from Europe a week ago brought orders for the restoration of Madras; but will it be as it was before?' I replied that their flag had flown there for 120 years and more[1]; and that it was their ill fortune that it had been lost and the houses destroyed. [ ]

Saturday, July 19.[2]—I went to the Governor this morning. A Council was held to consider Mr. Boscawen's letter. A reply was written and sent by their chobdar who has been waiting here three days.[3] I think that Mr. Boscawen must have written about the restoration of Madras, orders for which were brought by the Europe ships seven or eight days ago. The Governor must have replied either that he will give it up on receipt of the letters by the Europe ships now hourly expected or that

[1] The English settlement at Madras was founded in 1639.

[2] *7th Âdi, Sukla.*

[3] The correspondence related to the rendition of Madras. In his letter to the Minister, dated July 28, 1749 (*Arch. des Col.*), Dupleix says that on the 15th he received from Boscawen an order from the King [of France] to surrender Madras, but that the surrender had been delayed by the absence of certain necessary documents.

he will do so within the stipulated time, which Mr. Boscawen may have fixed. It must be one or the other. I suppose this from what the Governor said to me yesterday evening.

The Governor sent for me as soon as the Council rose, and said, 'M. Duquesne has given me signed muster-rolls of the sepoys who went from Madras and from your Choultry. Write about it to Chandâ Sâhib's son, Razâ Sâhib, and 'Abd-ul-rahmân and get a sealed acknowledgment from Razâ Sâhib.' I took the muster-rolls and said I would write accordingly.

He afterwards sent for me and spoke derisively about the English as follows :—' M. Le Riche writes from Kârikâl that, when Mr. Boscawen went to Devikôttai, Manôji Appâ agreed with him to deliver to them Devikôttai and the 17 villages belonging to it besides paying all their expenses. In return the English were to give up Kâttigai. Agreeing to this, Mr. Boscawen returned to Fort St. David five or six days ago. But Râjâ Pratâb Singh grew angry with Manôji Appâ and threatened to kill him.[1] The Marathas and the Musalmans will unite, as soon as Chandâ Sâhib arrives, and capture Fort St. David, and the English power in these parts

[1] The letter is dated July 15, 1749, and occurs in P.R. No. 84, f. 167. The English did not agree to give up Shâhji. They first attempted to secure a pension for him from the King of Tanjore, and, when they failed in that, gave him one themselves.

will come to an end.[1] Can a refugee be given up like this? No one will trust the English now that they have given up Kâttigai, after doing so much for him. The Tamils formerly trusted them much, but can they now? It's impossible.' Moreover he said all that he could think of against the English. I replied that, if Kâttigai had really been given up, the country would think lightly of and distrust the English, and God himself would severely punish them. I then went to the nut-godown.

I wrote out the lists of sepoys, muskets and cartridges sent to Razâ Sâhib and 'Abd-ul-rahmân, and also their letters and, having given them to the peons, came home at noon.

Monday, July 21.[2]—When I went to the Governor this morning, he asked if there was any news about Chandâ Sâhib. I replied, 'No letters have been received but people say he has crossed the Chengama Pass and has reached Faqîr 'Alî Khân's Fort at Mallappâdi below the Pass. They also say in the bazaars that Anwar-ud-dîn Khân is encamped with 3,000 horse two leagues this side of it.'—'But have no letters been received yet?' he asked. I replied, 'No, but news was brought by the two Brâhmans who came in last night from Chengama and Tiruvannâmalai. It must be true, and letters will come to-day.'

[1] Few statements could show more plainly the extreme optimism which characterised and went far to ruin Dupleix.

[2] *9th Âdi, Sukla.*

Then the Governor said, 'Vakîl Subbayyan has come to speak of the release of Muttu Mallâ Reddi's wife and children, offering to pay 20 *vellai* [1] but as another Brâhman offers to get 40 if the affair is trusted to him, he need not wait here.'

Hidâyat Muhî-ud dîn Khân and Chandâ Sâhib [ ].

I went this afternoon to the Choultry to examine the arch that is being built there. When I returned at eight o'clock, a peon came and told me that the Governor wanted me. When I went, he said, 'At six o'clock this evening, Chandâ Sâhib's son, Razâ Sâhib, received a letter from Chandâ Sâhib's camp. He has kept the original and sent me a copy. Did the Brâhman read the letter and tell you its contents?' I replied that he had told me, and added, 'The same thing is written in the letter from Vakîl Subbayyan's younger brother. Chandâ Sâhib has crossed the Chengama Pass with 6,000 horse and is camped below Faqîr 'Alî Khân's Fort at Mallappâdi this side of it; Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân has joined him there. Chandâ Sâhib's horse are stopping provisions from reaching the camp of Anwar-ud-dîn, who has 3,000 men. Najîb Khân was sent, but Chandâ Sâhib refused to see him; so they mean to send Husain Sâhib's mother.' The Governor said that M. d'Auteuil had also written to the same effect.

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[1] Literally, Silver. Silver was usually sold by the seer, which at this time was worth between 6 and 7 pagodas. If seers of silver are meant the amount offered was very small—about 130 pagodas.

He added that, as men would be sent to-morrow to tie the *tôranam*[1] in the Villiyanallûr pargannah, he wanted forty flags and people who knew those parts. I promised to find them and went to the nut-godown, called Muchiyan and told him to tell Parasurâma Pillai to prepare forty bamboos for flags and get three pieces of long cloth from the Company's merchants. I then called Mangâ Pillai and said, 'Be ready to-morrow to go to the Villiyanallûr pargannah and take possession of it. Lâlâ, the present agent of 'Abd-ul-jalîl, sent Madame two or three days ago 200 rupees to get the matter deferred for ten days. So it has been delayed till now. Yesterday he offered 300 rupees more and Madame promised not to take possession for another ten or fifteen days and then to leave him in charge of it. He left to-day. But the Governor has given these new orders. We shall see what happens.' Mangâ Pillai said, 'I told you so, but you would not believe me. Do you know the truth now?' I replied, 'When Lâlâ himself told me the same story as you did, I knew it must be true; as you have a man serving under Lâlâ, you learn the truth. All will be known to-morrow. Come to me to-morrow morning.' So I dismissed him. I have not heard any other news.

Wednesday, July 23.[2]—As the Governor was busy when I went to him this morning, I went to

[1] Young coconut leaves tied in festoons across a village street in token of possession.

[2] *11th Âdi, Sukla.*

the nut-godown. I think he has been so busy for the last three or four days, because Mr. Boscawen has sent orders from the ministers in Europe for the French to restore Madras to the English in the same state as it was when it surrendered to M. de La Bourdonnais. The Governor has replied that he will surrender it in seven or eight days when he has received his letters by the expected Europe ships. As Madras is to be handed over in the condition in which it was taken, and as many houses have been destroyed since then, the Governor is afraid he may be asked to pay for the demolished buildings.

M. St. Paul said that he would pay the 500 rupees with interest which Madame Albert owed me. So I went from the Governor's to Madame Albert's house with her bond for 500 rupees. There were M. St. Paul, M. Guillard, M. Le Maire, M. Delarche and Lamballais (the *huissier*) with a writer (whose name I do not know). M. St. Paul took from the almirah a small bag sealed with red wax containing some rupees and fanams, and breaking the seal in the presence of two shroffs, desired them to count it. It contained 548 rupees, more than thirty-seven odd pagodas' worth of fanams, and five pagodas in gold. The amount due—616 rupees—consisted of 500 rupees principal, and 111 [*sic*] rupees interest at 8 *per cent.* from October 28, 1746 to July 22, 1749. He gave me 548 rupees in rupees and 21 pagodas and 6 fanams (that is, 68 rupees at

the rate of 7½ fanams *per* rupee[1]), took Madame Albert's bond, and asked me to give a receipt for the principal and interest. I said that, as I had received the principal and interest, and surrendered Madame Albert's bond, there was no need to write out a receipt. But M. St. Paul, M Guillard, M. Le Maire and M. Delarche said that a receipt should be given as I had been paid after Madame Albert's death. So I wrote on the back of the bond in their presence that I had received from M. St. Paul the principal and interest due, with batta on the fanams. I took the money home, entered the amount in my accounts in detail, and delivered the money to Mudippiri Chidambara Mudali.

Thursday, July 24.[2]—'Abd-ul-rahmân sent Portuguese and Persian letters by Sôji Pandit, amaldâr of Tiruviti and Panruti, directing him to visit the Governor with 30 sepoys, get their guns exchanged, and then go to Tiruviti with five soldiers and two guns. He had a letter for the Governor to this effect. When Sôji Pandit reached Arumpâtai Pillai's Choultry, he sent the letter on to me. I reported it to the Governor and gave him the letter. He read the Portuguese letter, and, saying that he would send what was asked, desired to see the sepoys who had come. So I sent word to Arumpâtai Pillai's Choultry. There has been no other news.

This evening a peon came and said that the Governor wanted me, because a letter had come

[1] And 24 fanams *per* pagoda.

[2] *12th Adi, Sukla.*

from Murtazâ 'Alî Khân of Vellore. It said, 'You desired me to set apart land on which to build a church. I agreed; but they want land near the ditch[1]. You know that this cannot be given; but they will not agree to take land just beyond what they first asked for. Please therefore write to the Padre that he should agree.' When I told the Governor, he said that the Padres had consented to build their church on the site offered and that therefore the affair had been settled.

He then asked if nothing was said about Chandâ Sâhib's coming, etc. I said, 'No.' He said, 'We have heard that Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân has joined Chandâ Sâhib's camp at the passes. Won't they have reached Arcot by now?' I replied that news would come to-morrow or the next day. The Governor said, 'M. Delarche has the letters written by Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân to Chandâ Sâhib, the nazar of 32 mohurs and copies of the parwânas; send for them and I will write to M. d'Auteuil to present the nazar and the letters. See that the letter is sent at once by Vakîl Subbayyan.' I told Madanânda Pandit in the Governor's presence to get from M. Delarche the letters, copies of the parwânas, mohurs and Anwar-ud-dîn Khân's letter to the Governor[2] and Muhammad Tavakkal's to me. M. Bertrand sent me

[1] The ditch of the Fort

[2] Is this the letter from Anwar-ud-dîn, offering the French all they expected to receive from Chandâ Sâhib, on condition of their changing sides, mentioned in the *Mémoire pour la Compagnie des Indes*, p. 40.?

the letter for M. d'Auteuil. When I had received it, I told the Governor that Sôji Pandit had arrived from Arumpâtai Pillai's Choultry and was waiting at the gate. He ordered him to be brought to-morrow morning. I then went to the nut-godown. Madanânda Pandit came with the letters from M. Delarche with the mohurs, etc. I then came home, having sent word to Subbayyan, who has gone to Ella Pillai's Choultry on account of the good water there, to come in to-morrow morning and set out for Arcot.

Friday, July 25.[1]—Soon after the Governor returned from church this morning, after hearing mass on account of the feast, he drank coffee and lay down as he had a head-ache.

At eleven o'clock he sent for me, and asked if I had sent Vakîl Subbayyan last night with Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân's letters, etc., as he had ordered. I said it should be done at once. He ordered me to do so and asked if the Brâhman who is going to and from Tiruviti and Panruti had arrived. I said he had; and he asked if he knew the French were now masters of that country. I replied, 'Why ask when all know it? Of course he knows it,'—'True,' he said, 'tell him to bring a large nazar.' I said I would do so; and telling Sôji Pandit to come at six o'clock in the evening, asked him what nazar he would give. He replied he would give 11 rupees. But I said,

[1] *13th Âdi, Sukla.*

'Can the amaldâr of Tiruviti, which yields a lakh of pagodas, visit the Governor thus? A man's presents must befit his position. You must give 100 pagodas.' So I dismissed him.

I then sent for Vakîl Subbayyan and told him to go to Arcot with the following:—

Nazar for Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân Muzaffar Jang—21 mohurs;

nazar for Chandâ Sâhib—11 mohurs; in all, 32 mohurs;

two letters, one to Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân and another to Chandâ Sâhib;

copy of the parwâna from the Pâdshâh granting the Governor of Pondichery a mansab of 4,500 horse and a naubat, with the seal of the vizier, Qamar-ud-dîn Khân; with these, the original parwâna granting an inam for having fought;[1]

a letter to M. d'Auteuil;

a letter from Anwar-ud-dîn Khân to the Governor wishing him prosperity and requesting troops to be sent against Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân;

a letter from Muhammad Tavakkal to me offering to send money to the Governor for troops or

[1] M. Cultru (*op cit.*, p. 256) doubts whether Dupleix had received the dignity of a mansab, etc., before the grant of Muzaffar Jang; but the present passage is definitely corroborated by the despatch from Pondichery to the Company of January 24, 1742, announcing the assumption of the dignity by Dupleix at Chandernagore, on Dumas' departure for Europe. It may be noted that Malleson (following Guyon's *Histoire*, vol. iii, p. 435) makes the mistake of sending Dupleix to Bengal specially to receive the title. He assumed it before coming down to take charge as Governor of Pondichery.

make a grant of villages, and proposing to come in person and discuss the matter if desired;

copy of Chandâ Sâhib's son, Razâ Sâhib's parwâna granting Villiyanallûr as an inam to the Company; and

Razâ Sâhib's declaration that Chandâ Sâhib's parwâna for Villiyanallûr would be given as soon as he reached Arcot.

All these were given to Subbayyan with orders to tell M. d'Auteuil to give the nazars and letters to Muzaffar Jang and Chandâ Sâhib as soon as they reached Arcot. I also directed him to obey Chandâ Sâhib and M. d'Auteuil and to send news frequently. I thus despatched him, having given him the Governor's orders. We shall see the will of God.

Saturday, July 26.[1]—I told the Governor this morning that Sôji Pandit, the amaldâr of Tiruviti, was in waiting. The Governor ordered me to send for him; so I sent a peon. When he came, he offered 100 pagodas, and was asked to sit. The Governor asked if he had formerly served S'aadat-ul-lah Khân and Shêr Khân and lately Khair-ud-dîn Khân. On his answering, the Governor asked if he were not glad that their descendants had become Nawâbs. He replied that it was the will of God. The Governor thereupon ordered him to take care of the Tiruviti country, to extend the cultivation of the land, and to keep the people in peace and

[1] *14th Âdi, Sukla.*

happiness. He replied that he would increase the cultivation as much as possible.

He then asked for powder, shot and guns for the sepoys guarding Tiruviti fort and town. The Governor asked if there were no guns there. When he said there were four, the Governor said powder and shot would be supplied as soon as he knew their calibre, and signed an order for the armourer to supply 300 cartridges. An order for eight yards of broadcloth for presents was sent to M. Cornet, and an order to the gate-people to allow him to go out. Then he said, 'When the Navâits ruled, plenty reigned and there was gold and silver in abundance. But after Anwar-ud-dîn Khân's coming, the whole country was laid waste.' He then gave to Sôji Pandit *pân supârî* and rose water, and two yards of broadcloth; to Rangô Pandit who accompanied him two yards of broadcloth, and to Parasurâma Pillai and Vadamalai Ayyan *pân supârî* and rosewater, and two yards of broadcloth each. Then he dismissed them. They went to their quarters, saying they would set out in the evening. I went to the nut-godown.

The Governor told me that M. d'Auteuil had written that he had reached Arcot.

The Governor sent for me this evening and said, 'M. d'Auteuil writes that he has reached Arcot.[1] Anwar-ud-dîn Khân is 18 hours' journey to the

[1] For this and other details of the Ambûr campaign, see the Introduction.

southward, and Chandâ Sâhib and Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân are about the same distance from Arcot but to the northward of him; but he does not say where they are exactly or give other details. What a man he is!' I replied, 'Chengama is six leagues to the southward and Anwar-ud-dîn Khân is there. Sahâdêv is near Vâniyambâdi which is six leagues from Arcot. So the distance—18 hours' journey—is correct. I do not know the cause of the delay; but they could have reached Arcot if they had only marched a league a day. We shall have full news in two or three days.' He asked what I thought about it. I said they would not delay longer now they were so near Arcot. He then ordered me to go home.

Dôst Muhammad then told me that Madame wanted 10 out of the Pandit's 30 sepoys, if they were still here. I sent 10 sepoys, and asked why they were wanted. He said that he did not know, and that she had only asked for 20 or 30 sepoys with muskets. I told him that these sepoys had to go with Sôji Pandit; he replied that he would only depart at half-past six or seven, and that the sepoys would have returned by then. So I sent him away. As it was then eight o'clock, I thought they could not return before daybreak as Villiyanallûr is the first place they could reach; they must be going to seize Sivanâga Reddi, or Lâlâ, the amaldâr, as I hear that Odiyampattu Râmâ Reddi who came this evening from Villiyanallûr spoke with Madame and is now

in Periyanna Mudali's house. I shall hear to-morrow morning. Up till now not a single affair managed by Madame has succeeded. But she cares nothing for dishonour or blame. I know not if this is retribution for the sins of the townspeople.

Sunday, July 27.[1]—When I went to the Governor this morning he asked where Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân, etc., were. I said they must have reached Pallikonda,[2] Sâtghar[3] and thereabouts. He then took a map from the Kistna to Cape Comorin and looked at the fortified places; he said, 'Chêtpattu, Chingleput, Sâtghar and other fortified places have been omitted and places have been wrongly entered.' I replied, 'It was drawn by the St. Paul's priests who would enquire and set things down correctly; they have left out many forts; I do not know how many may have been left out besides those you mentioned.'—'True,' he said; 'they have even omitted the fort of Wandiwash and the hill there.' I said, 'There is a place called Siddhavattam on the northern Pennâr near the fort of Kandi; that too has not been entered. A correct map could be made by inserting the omitted places with their distances in a paper like this.'—'I will have one made,' he said. I then talked with him about Anwar-ud-dîn's halting at the Singari Pass and other matters; and then I went to the nut-godown.

[1] *15th Âdi, Sukla.*

[2] Pallikonda lies half-way between Ambûr and Vellore.

[3] Sâtghar, about 8 miles north of Ambûr.

Mannan, Madame's thievish spy, who always brings false news, told her that Lâlâ, the amaldâr of Villiyanallûr, Sivanâga Reddi and others were at a certain place. So she ordered these people to be seized. The gates were opened secretly at midnight, and sepoys and peons went out. They returned with seven or eight bundles of accounts in Marathi and Persian, Muttu Pillai, son of Bhuvanâtha Pillai, the country writer, Sivanâga Reddi's gumastah, Ayyâ Pillai, another country writer (whose name I do not know) and two horses; they told Madame that no Reddis had been there and that Lâlâ had run away. I do not know what false version of this Madame told her husband, but he sent for me and said, 'That fellow Lâlâ has deceived us and run away, and they have brought the accounts. The fasli year closes with Âni, so that the new year begins with July. As the collections from now onwards belong to us, send proper people to collect this as well as the value of the crops about to be harvested. See that the *tôranam* is tied in Villiyanallûr, etc., and hoist small flags in each of the forty villages. Proclaim by beat of tom-tom in the villages that cowles will be given fixing the rates for dry lands whether on *vâram* or on lease, and that they may cultivate their lands undisturbed.' I agreed, and having gone to the nut-godown, sent for Mangâ Pillai, repeated to him the Governor's orders, gave him *pân supârî*, broadcloth and

a present, and despatched him with peons and the forty flags that have been prepared. I then came home as it was time for food.

At three o'clock a peon came and said that the Governor wanted me. On my way, I saw a peon going to fetch Madanânda Pandit. When we were both there, Madukkarai Râmi Reddi, who had been talking with Madame in her chamber, came out with Ayyâ Pillai and Muttu Pillai, the country writer. The Governor ordered a Telugu cowle to be written out and sealed with the Persian seal. We did so; he then signed it and gave it to Râmi Reddi with two yards of broadcloth. Ayyâ Pillai and Muttu Pillai were given each a turban worth 18 fanams. They took them and said, 'The Villiyanallûr temple should be kept up and allowed to retain the village of Tirukkânji attached to it. The Muhammadans would not observe the cowle and destroyed the temple. As it is now yours, we will obey the cowle and live in peace.' When they had paid the usual compliments, the Governor said that they need not be anxious about the temple. Then they departed with the cowle. As they took *pân supârî*, some one behind them sneezed. Then they came with me to the nut-godown, and, as they were talking about the affairs of the villages, a lizard chirped unexpectedly. 'What!' said they, 'the same thing happened two or three times when we went to Madame to talk with her. It happens whenever we talk about the village affairs to-day. What can

be going to happen?' Then again a lizard chirped suddenly.[1] They then went away saying that they would come to my house to-night and take leave.

Afterwards I heard that Madame Dupleix had sent ten or fifteen peons with Maduraināyakam to the Villiyanallûr flag-staff and then sent news from there. I said nothing, but considered that this was one more fine piece of work for which only the stars are to blame. We shall see what happens.

When the Villiyanallûr temple and its village of Tirukkânji were being discussed, I said that a village called Sêthirâpattu worth 270 pagodas had been attached to my *agrahâram* for the last thirty years. He remarked, 'Very well, why trouble yourself?' I write this here as I forgot to write it above.

Monday, July 28.[2]—As the cloth supplied by the Company's merchants was to be examined this morning, I went to the Fort to examine it—brown cloth, *lungis*, and coarse cloth. The unbleached cloth was given to the washers; and the *lungis* and coarse cloth to the packers. Having visited and talked with M. Guillard, I went to the Governor at the Fort and told him that I had examined the cloth, and sent the unbleached cloth to be washed and the rest to be packed. I also told him that Chandâ Sâhib had not yet reached Arcot, that his

[1] Confer Thurston's *Ethnographic Notes*, p. 293.
[2] *16th Âdi, Sukla.*

son, 'Abd-ul-rahmân, M. d'Auteuil, etc., were halting at Ramana, a pleasant place set apart for stag hunting near Arcot, with a bungalow, tank, and garden surrounding it. I also said that the *tôra-nam* had been tied and flags hoisted at Villiyanallûr, etc., by those who were sent there yesterday. I then went to the nut-godown.

Some Reddis came to Madame Dupleix to-day and went away after speaking with her. Saruvâ Reddi and Bhuvanâtha Pillai were among them; they came and saw me before they went to their lodgings.

Tuesday, July 29.[1]—I heard the following news at the Governor's house this morning:—A Padre named Antoine de la Purification[2] got from Razâ Sâhib an order of arrest against the former amaldâr of Mylapore. He showed the order to the Commandant of Madras, got 100 soldiers and peons, seized the amaldâr, plundered his house and carried off the Sarkar money. Tappal peons told the Governor that the amaldâr was being brought to Tiruvêngada Pillai's Choultry, with his hands tied behind his back, under a guard of 3 or 4 sepoys and peons. Dôst Muhammad, a lubbay, told me that the Governor had sent for him and ordered him to send ten more peons to bring the amaldâr from Tiruvêngada Pillai's Choultry.

[1] *17th Âdi, Sukla.*

[2] This is the Antonio Noronha already mentioned.

I told the Governor I had heard that Chandâ Sâhib had certainly reached Pallikonda. He said, 'M. d'Auteuil writes daily, but has said nothing about it. He has never told us where Chandâ Sâhib is camping, but only says that he is moving on Arcot to meet Chandâ Sâhib; that is all he says.' He then asked if Anwar-ud-dîn Khân was still at the Singari passes.

SEPTEMBER 1749.

Thursday, September 4.[1]—The Governor sent for me this morning, and, giving me two letters, one from Chandâ Sâhib and the other from 'Abd-ul-rahmân, asked what was in them. Chandâ Sâhib's letter said, 'You wrote that you had sent against Chêtpattu[2] 300 Europeans under two officers, M. Duquesne and M. de La Tour with two mortars firing eight [-inch] shells, two 6-pound guns, two 12-pound guns, powder, shot, etc., at which I am greatly pleased. Shaikh Hasan has written to me that he is marching to Chêtpattu with 1,000 sepoys and 1,000 horsemen; but Shaikh Muhammad Sharîf is arranging terms and I expect them to make peace. If they do, good; otherwise, with your help, I will take the fort in half an hour. With your help nothing is impossible. Fear of you has been printed in the minds of the killedars and mansabdars; so what cannot be done? Nawâb Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân has visited me and I have gratified him with presents. We propose to set out for Pondichery to-day or to-morrow. I have enjoyed all things save the pleasure of seeing

[1] *23rd Âvani, Sukla.*

[2] Mîr Asad, who had been dîwân to Dôst 'Alî Khân and to Safdar 'Alî, was killedar. In November he wrote to the English complaining that they had not congratulated him on his successful resistance.—*Country Correspondence*, 1749, p. 54.

you; and that I shall enjoy if I set out to-day or to-morrow to visit you.'

Muzaffar Khân's[1] letter was a reply to ours requesting him to deliver Munawar-ud-dîn and others, to M. d'Auteuil,[2] to gratify the soldiers and officers with large presents, and to give M. d'Auteuil pagodas instead of a grant of villages which would be useless to him.[3] It also said, 'When Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân and his son visited Chandâ Sâhib's house, the latter presented them with four jewels set with precious stones worth 7,000 pagodas, and women's cloths worth two or three thousand rupees. When Chandâ Sâhib afterwards visited Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân, the latter reconciled him with Mahfuz Khân, making them embrace and exchange *pân supârî*, and then sent them away. Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân gave M. d'Auteuil a feast and also a dress of honour and a horse; and the officers each received a dress of honour. As M. d'Auteuil's dress of honour was worth only thirty or forty rupees and the horse 100 rupees he said that he would return them. Thereupon Chandâ Sâhib sent for M. Law, showed him

[1] Muzaffar Khân seems to be identical with 'Abd-ul-rahmân, Chief Subahdar of the sepoys taken into Chandâ Sâhib's service from that of the French. It was under this title that he accompanied Bussy to the Deccan in 1751. Cf. also p. 198 *infra*, where he is mentioned as Shaikh Hasan's elder brother.

[2] Prisoners whom d'Auteuil had been ordered not to deliver to Chandâ Sâhib without making proper arrangements for their ransom. See Cultru, *Dupleix*, p. 240.

[3] Cf. Cultru, *op cit.*, p. 241.

the dress of honour which he himself had received, and explained that the presents given by great men were never of value but only marks of honour. So the matter was smoothed over and M. Law explained it to M. d'Auteuil who was then satisfied.'[1] I reported this to the Governor, and added that it was also written that Chandâ Sâhib proposes to leave Arcot for Pondichery on the 22nd of the Muhammadan month. The Governor said, 'That is very good.' As it was written that the European and Muhammadan troops were encamped before Chêtpattu, that Shaikh Muhammad Sharîf was trying to arrange terms, and that the fort would be seized if they did not agree, the Governor told me to write to Shaikh Muhammad Sharîf as follows:—'You are trying to make peace between Mîr Sâhib and Chandâ Sâhib. If you succeed, pay the sepoys out of the money that you will receive; and also pay 10,000 rupees as batta to the two officers, M. Duquesne and M. de La Tour and the 300 soldiers that have gone to fight at Chêtpattu.' He also wanted me to write a similar letter to Shaikh Hasan. I did so and gave him the letters. He handed them to M. Bertrand to be sent to Chêtpattu along with his letters to M. Duquesne and M. de La Tour.

[1] 'La correspondence de Dupleix avec son beau-frère d'Auteuil . . . nous montre que les préoccupations de Dupleix . . . affectent en général un caractère personnel et témoignent d'un certain esprit de lucre . . .' Cultru, *op cit.*, p. 239.

Then the Company's merchants asked for an advance. He told them to bring in cloth quickly, and said he would order money to be paid to-morrow after it had been counted. He also told them to send for *Kaikôlans*, *Sêdars*, *Sêniyars*[1] and other classes of weavers and said, 'Villiyanallûr is a healthy town with a river and groves of trees. Weavers who agree to build houses there will be given ten pagodas a loom, to enable them to build their houses and weave. They will be kept in constant work and must weave and supply plenty of cloth, repaying what is advanced them at the rate of one pagoda a year. Moreover yarn, cotton, etc., shall be brought in without being taxed for two years after they settle there, and they shall be given cowles accordingly. I spoke to Rangappan about this yesterday, and I tell you about it now. So tell the weavers and bring them.'[2] They replied, 'Rangan told us last night that you had given such orders. We will send for weavers from Udaiyârpâlaiyam, Chennamanâyakkanpâlaiyam,

[1] See Thurston's *Castes and Tribes*, Vol. iii, p. 31 and Vol vi, pp. 348 and 361.

[2] This idea of settling weavers who worked for the Company within its own territory was old. In 1742 the Madras Council wrote that the French had expended much money in endeavouring to settle weavers at Pondichery, just as the English had done at Chintâdripêt, and with similar ill-success; therefore, they argued, it would be useless to attempt it at Cuddalore. One reason of this was the relative dearness of grain in the coast towns. Dupleix succeeded much better at Villiyanallûr, where 1,200 families of weavers are said to have been settled until they were scattered by the war in 1752.—*Mémoire pour la Compagnie contre le sieur Dupleix*, p 78.

Conjeeveram and other places; and hearing this, weavers of all sorts will come—ten times as many as went to Chintâdripêt at Madras; and we will build houses for them.' He replied, 'Do so. I myself will go with you to inspect the place, and we will feast together before returning. Then I will choose the sites and give orders.' They replied with compliments, 'The food we eat is yours, and the blood of our bodies issues from the food you give us. The Nizâm will give you the Government of Arcot and other subahs. As we are your merchants, our prosperity will increase with yours.' They added that worship had ceased at the Kâlahasti Îswaram temple and the Perumâl temple as they had been damaged in the siege. The Governor said, 'You may do what you please. I will rebuild the Villiyanallûr temple and the walls round it and order the amaldâr there not to allow Europeans or other Christians to enter it.' He also ordered the temples that had been damaged by shot to be repaired. I should need four sheets to write all that the Governor said about the temples in his delight. It is our good fortune that made the Governor give such an encouraging reply to the merchants when they asked him about the temples.[1]

They then asked for a hut to be built at the washers' ford, and spoke about Râmakrishna Chetti's

[1] Indeed, it was a marked divergence from the policy previously followed by the French, including Dupleix himself.

palmyra business. He refused smilingly and dismissed them. Then they went home. The Governor had meant to dine at Ariyânkuppam but did not go as he heard that M. Barthélemy had reached my Choultry.

M. Barthélemy, M. Moreau, the commandant, the second captain, head-peon Mâri, coolies, etc., who went to Madras when it was in our hands, returned this afternoon with all their goods—even their pots—except what they had already sent. I went to the Fort at half-past four and visited the Governor. M. Barthélemy, M. Moreau, M. Goupil, Captain, and M. de La Touche said to the Governor, 'Mr. Lawrence, the Major of Fort St. David, who was taken prisoner at the battle of Ariyânkuppam and released after the war, and who came back here in August last about the restoration of Madras, which was fixed for September 1, took possession of the Fort and the town at eight o'clock on Monday, September 1. The Brâhmans did pûja, coconuts were broken, sheep sacrificed and other Tamil ceremonies performed, before the flag was hoisted; then an extraordinary salute was fired from the Fort and from the ships. We do not know where the Tamils were who left Madras and would not return in our time; but when their flag was hoisted, ten lakhs of Tamils, Muhammadans, Lubbays, Pattanawars, coolies, etc., crowded into the town as joyfully as though the Fort and town belonged to

each one of them.'[1] They also described the Tamil ceremonies which were performed. [M. Barthélemy added,] 'Afterwards Mr. Boscawen, the Unlucky Admiral, who commands the King's squadron, and others, Mr. Morse, the Company's servants and other Englishmen came ashore and desired me to dine with them. The rest of us went to Mylapore where they waited for me. After dinner, I set out for Mylapore with some Englishmen and joined our people there. I hear that when the English had entered the town and hoisted their flag, they proclaimed by beat of tom-tom that five years' assessment on lands, taxes on the purchase and sale of goods, and on houses, and the scavenging duties were all remitted. Afterwards they left the Fort and went to the Governor's house.'

The troubles befell at Madras 121 years and 5 months after the English came to India and hoisted their flag there. On September 21, 1746, the French under M. de La Bourdonnais fought, captured the place from Mr. Morse, the Governor, and hoisted their flag. Peace was made in Europe between the French and English on October 17, 1748, and Madras was then ordered to be restored to the English. Accordingly Mr. Boscawen, etc., went to Madras and took possession of it on Monday, September 1, 1749. It was the will of God that the

[1] An interesting confirmation of the Fort St. David despatch to the Company, dated August 30, 1749:—The rendition has 'occasioned universal joy among the late inhabitants who thronged there in great numbers immediately on hoisting the English flag.'

white flag should be hoisted at Madras, that the French should rule there only for two years, eleven months and ten days, and that thereafter the English should once more hoist their flag and return thither. The wise know that all things happen not as man wills, but as God ordains. Owing to the ill destiny of the city, a new flag flew over it instead of the old, houses were destroyed, rich merchants departed with the loss of their wealth and many great men perished. And in spite of people flocking back there, it will take twenty or thirty years for Madras once more to become the Golden City, for it is no easy affair for a city 121 years old to recover its prosperity after it has been once dashed to pieces.[1] Madras grew great out of the ruin of Golconda, Bijapur and Arcot. The islands and foreign lands returned 100 or 200 per cent. so that many grew rich; but now trade with Manilla, Mocha and other places scarcely returns the capital that is sent out.[2] So Madras is now only the Little City instead of the

[1] Ranga Pillai's prediction was verified. Six years later the Fort St. George Council wrote (*Pub. Desp. to Eng.*, October 27, 1755):—'The wealthy inhabitants of the Black Town are very few indeed compared with those before the loss of this settlement. . . '

[2] Complaints of the decay of the country trade were at this period very frequent. In 1741 the Fort St. George Council gave it as a reason for increasing the officers' pay; in 1745 the Pondichery Council wrote:—'Le commerce de l' Inde en Inde dépérit tours les jours; les marchandises y deviennent plus rares que jamais, diminuent chaque année de qualité et augmentent de prix' (Despatch to the Company, February 11, 1745, *P.R. No.* 7). Cf. also Long's *Selections*, p. 119, for similar complaints of 1758 in Bengal.

Golden City, as it once was called. I write my thoughts; we shall see God's will.

The Governor ordered head-peon Anantappan, from Madras, and his 100 peons to give up their muskets and badges and depart. He also dismissed dog-boy Savarimuttu and the poligar's peons. The dog-boy had a letter from the Kâttukôyil Padre[1] recommending him to be poligar here. But the Governor was angry and sent him away. I heard that he went away saying that he would ask Madame for the appointment. The news of the rendition of Madras reached Fort St. David yesterday, and I heard the sound of many guns.

Tuesday, September 9.[2]—I went to the Fort to examine the Company's merchants' brown cloth, and thence went to the Governor's.

He said that M. d'Auteuil had written to him as follows:—On Sunday September 7, 1749, His Highness Chandâ Sâhib sent for M. d'Auteuil and M. Law and gave them 20,000 rupees for the officers and promised to pay the soldiers 30,000 rupees within a certain time giving a bond in the Governor's name. He gave M. d'Auteuil a mansab of 100 [horse] and therewith a village worth 2,000 rupees as an inam and sent them off in advance to Pondichery, promising to follow them shortly. They took leave and went to their camp proposing to set out that afternoon after dinner.

[1] *Cf.* Vol. iv, p. 411, *supra*.

[2] *25th Âvani, Sukla.*

Vakîl Subbayyan's letter to me says the same and adds :—' Chandâ Sâhib will choose a proper time to go to Pondichery after the new moon has been seen and the Khutba celebrated at Wandiwash. Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân proposes to do this at Arcot and proceed to Pondichery by way of Gingee. Nawâb Zain-ud 'Alî Khân of Chingleput has agreed for two lakhs of rupees and the Chêtpattu business, which was long unsettled, has now been arranged, but I do not know for how much. I will write about it as soon as I hear. M. de La Tour, M. Duquesne, and the other officers who marched to Chêtpattu with 300 soldiers have been ordered to Pondichery.' When I reported this to the Governor, he said, ' Then it will be some time before Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân comes.' I replied, ' Can we say so? He may come to Gingee after Chandâ-Sâhib's departure; but perhaps Chandâ Sâhib comes first to make preparations of men, etc., to receive him and arrange about the marks of respect to be shown to him.' To these indefinite words he answered doubtfully. He was telling me that the Chêtpattu affair had been settled for three lakhs, when a letter came from 'Abd-ul-rahmân. It said that Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân had recalled the troops before Chêtpattu as Shaikh Muhammad Sharîf had settled for three lakhs of rupees.

The Governor then spoke of the preparations to be made for Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân's coming

and said, 'I spent 12,000 rupees in entertaining the Hugli Subahdar; and he spent 24,000 rupees on two feasts for me.'[1] I then went to the nut-godown

Saturday, September 13.[2]—I went to the Fort this morning, examined the brown cloth supplied by the Company's old merchants and gave it to be washed, examined seven or eight bales of the Kârikâl white cloth, and had five of them baled. M. St. Paul and M. Guillard sent for me. They asked me to report to the Governor the examination of the Kârikâl cloth, and to get his leave for Muttu Chetti and Muttiya Pillai's returning home to Kârikâl, as they were unwell. So I went to the Governor at about nine o'clock, reported the examination of the cloth, and got his orders for them to go to Kârikâl.

Shaikh Khalîl-ul-lah Sâhib was the killedar of Gingee under Anwar-ud-dîn Khân. After the latter's death and the imprisonment of Mahfuz Khân, etc., he refused to deliver the fort to Chandâ Sâhib's people and said that he would do so only with the Governor's permission. So abandoning his post, he got a cowle and came here with M. Delarche. He could not see the Governor till to-day. He received a salute of nine guns when he visited him at eleven o'clock with his six sons, sons-

[1] The allusion is to Dupleix being installed as Nawâb in Bengal on Dumas' departure for Europe in 1741. See above, p. 144.

[2] *1st Purattâsi, Sukla.*

in-law and grand-sons. The Governor was pleased to see them and spoke to him politely as follows:—'I am ready to settle your business as though it were mine. It is very rare to find even in Europe so large a family of sons, grand-sons, sons-in-law, daughters and grand-daughters. I am very delighted to see them all.' He spoke to M. Friell and others about it and gave *pân supârî* and rosewater to the sons with his own hands. When Appu was about to give *pân supârî* to the others, he stopped him and signed to M. Friell to give it them. Then he asked him to state what he wanted. The old man said, 'I wish to hold office no longer, but remain with you. My sons have come here for your protection; let them be protected as they deserve.' The Governor said that he would do so a thousand times. Never before has he made so hearty a promise. He then told them to visit Madame. They did so, were given *pân supârî* and rosewater, and, having taken leave, went to their lodgings in Sunguvâr's Company's godown. A salute of nine guns was fired when they paid their visit. He ordered M. Friell and an officer to receive them and to accompany them as far as the gates. The joy with which he spoke to Madame was indescribable.

M. Duquesne and M. de La Tour returned from Chêtpattu yesterday with the 300 soldiers, guns, etc. At half-past nine this morning, 21 guns were fired in honour of the overthrow of Anwar-ud-dîn Khân by M. d'Auteuil, M. Bussy, M. Law and

other officers with the European troops, who have reached Mortândi Choultry.

Sunday, September 14.[1]—The Governor sent for me this morning and said, 'After Chandâ Sâhib's arrival, there is to be only one canteen for the sale of liquor in the fort; no liquor must be sold elsewhere. But you may open two or three shops between your Choultry, and Nainiya Pillai's Choultry, where the troops will encamp, and sell it as you please. Post the Nayinâr's people so that there may be no robberies in the town. As regards the appointment of nâttârs and poligars, I will act as you advise.' I said, 'Very well, Sir,' and, sending for the liquor-godown people to the nut-godown, told them the Governor's orders.

Then I ordered a proclamation by beat of tom-tom that the streets must be levelled, mended and watered.

The Governor again sent for me and said, 'Sôji Pandit, the Brâhman amaldâr, sends word that about 5,000 pagodas have been collected in Tiruviti, Bhuvanagiri, Tîrtanagari, Venkatammâlpêttai, Porto Novo, and Devanâmpattanam. Is that right?' I replied, 'I do not know why he says 5,000 pagodas have been collected. They paid something under 500 pagodas and said that they were still getting in money and would send the full rent as soon as it was brought in. But they never wrote that they

[1] *2nd Purattâsi, Sukla.*

had collected 5,000 pagodas or mentioned it when they were here. So much could not have been ready when they sent word by Posthi [?] the lubbay-boy. I will write to Sôji Pandit to bring these 5,000 pagodas.' So saying, I went to the nut-godown and wrote immediately.

I then told the Governor that I had written this morning with compliments that we were eagerly awaiting the arrival of Chandâ Sâhib who wrote on September 11 from Wandiwash that he, Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân, etc., would come after observing the Khutba on the appearance of the new moon.

Tuesday, September 16.[1]—As ten bales of my chay salampores[2] were being packed in the Fort this morning, I went there and thence to the nut-godown. When I asked what the Governor was doing, I heard that he was still asleep, as he had lain awake all night with indigestion; and that the gates were closed.

I was sent for at twelve o'clock. I went by way of the kitchen, and he told me to get cloth ready and asked if there was any news about Chandâ Sâhib's coming. I replied, 'No news has come; but I hear that Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân proposes to leave Arcot on the fifth day after the new moon. But Chandâ Sâhib's letter received the evening before last said that he had reached Wandiwash

[1] *4th Purattâsi, Sukla.*

[2] *Chay*, a root largely used in dyeing in Southern India; see Watt's *Commercial Products*, p. 821. Salampores are half-pieces of longcloth.

and would set out after the feast. I think he will set out to-day.'—' Very well,' he said, and told me I might go. I went to the nut-godown and thence came home. I went and inspected the washers' ford this evening, then went to the stamping place, and thence to the nut-godown.

I have neglected to write what the Governor told me when he sent for me at twelve o'clock, so I will write it here. He asked if the Kârikâl tappal was carried through the Fort St. David bounds or by Tiruvêndipuram. I replied that formerly it went by Tiruvêndipuram, but that for the last month and a half it has been going through the Fort St. David bounds instead of the former round-about way which had been followed during the war. He ordered that it should cease to go through the Fort St. David bounds. I agreed and immediately went to the nut-godown, sent for head-peon Sântappan and repeated to him the Governor's orders, that, in future, letters should be taken by way of Tiruvêndipuram outside the Fort St. David bounds. He went away saying that he would tell the runners accordingly. The reason for this order is that a letter was received last night from the Governor of Fort St. David about Mullanki Bâli Chetti who was seized at Pulicat in order to get from him (with the help of a woman of his household who lived with a Mahé sepoy) the money deposited as charity for the Srîperumbûdûr temple by the Madras dubâsh. Mr. Boscawen wrote two or three

letters about his release but in vain. I do not know what was written yesterday or what the Governor replied, but to-day's order is the result.

Wednesday, September 17.[1]—When I went to the Governor this morning, he had received a letter from Chandâ Sâhib, saying, 'Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân left Arcot on the second day after the new moon, and is marching by way of Gingee. I shall accompany him. The Chêtpattu affair was settled before your letter was received and the Europeans had already left. I shall come in person and settle about Tiruviti and other pargannahs.' I reported this to the Governor.

He then asked when red wood would be supplied for the Company. I told him, in ten days. I have heard no other news worth writing.

Many amaldârs, nâttârs and others have come into town on hearing of Chandâ Sâhib's approach. Each man's business will be settled as predestined; but their hopes are boundless. What is to be will be; and a man should turn his heart away from desire.

The nâttârs of Bhuvanagiri and Vikravândi Ravanappa Chetti's son came to visit the Governor with nazars. I dismissed them with *pân supârî* and went to the nut-godown. Immediately afterwards I heard that the Governor wanted me. He wished to know when Chandâ Sâhib would come. I

[1] *5th Purattâsi, Sukla.*

replied that a peon from Arcot had reported hearing four or five guns at four o'clock this evening this side of Tindivanam.

Just then the head-peon brought a letter from Padre Antonio of Mylapore. It said, 'Don Jeronimo, an old inhabitant now at Pondichery, went to Mr. Boscawen at Madras; but the latter at once sent a sergeant to expel him from the town as he had no business there.' The Governor told me about this, and remarked that the man deserved it for having gone to Madras on the pretence of wishing to see his mother-in-law at the Mount. He said the same to M. Duquesne who came in. I agreed that he deserved what he had got. As they talked together, I went to the nut-godown.

Thursday, September 18.[1]—This morning I had my coarse blue cloth packed at the Fort. The Second and other councillors were talking about the lateness of the Europe ships, the consequent delay in paying the merchants, the slow supply of goods, and people's uncertainty about Chandâ Sâhib's coming. When they were thus talking, I remained silent. But they said, 'Why are you silent? You know all about it.' I replied suitably, 'You are great men; how can I know anything that is unknown to you?' M. Desfresnes and M. Le Maire said, 'Will Rangappan say anything without the Governor's leave?' M. Friell said that I was

[1] *6th Purattâsi, Sukla.*

right, and asked me to arrange with the Chettis for his purchasing the land near Kanakarâya Mudali's godown. I agreed, and, taking leave of the Second and others, went to the Governor's and reported to him that the cloth at the Fort had been packed and that Odi Dâs's blue cloth would be packed to-morrow.

I then told him that our Vakîl, Venkata Râo, had written as follows :—' Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân is at Timiri, and proposes to set out for Pondichery on Monday forenoon. As 'Abd-ul-rahmân complains that the sepoys refuse to obey him because they are two months' pay in arrears, Razâ Sâhib will stay behind to pacify them and then set out. When Nâsîr Jang heard that Anwar-ud-dîn Khân had been killed, he cast his turban on the ground, and bit his hands ;[1] he has despatched his younger brother with a small army, instead of Saiyid Lashkar Khân who was despatched first and who has been recalled to court in disgrace ; he accordingly is returning with his army from his camp the other side of the Kistna.' Having reported this, I went to the nut-godown.

Peddu Nâyakkan's letter to me, received to-night, says that Razâ Sâhib told 'Abd-ul-rahmân to seize Shaikh Fatteh Muhammad, that he went with 25 sepoys and seized him and that he was bringing him with the 25 sepoys. He also says that he has sold M. Duplan's broadcloth.

[1] Reading *kaiyai kadichchukkondu* for *kaiyyilai pidichchukkondu.*

Friday, September 19.[1]—As I asked Muri Dâs to supply some more coarse blue cloth, eight bales were brought to the Fort this morning and packed. I went and reported this at the Fort. Then I went to speak to the Second about it. He remarked that Muri Dâs's cloth was of poor quality, not wide enough and some cubits short in length. I replied suitably and then went to the Governor's.

Two letters have come from Chandâ Sâhib, one for Madame and the other for the Governor, saying, 'Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân set out for Pondichery on Monday forenoon and is halting at Timiri. He will halt a day there, and on Wednesday, having assembled the available horse, will march by way of Chêtpattu to Gingee where I shall join him, and we shall march to Pondichery. I have read Razâ Sâhib's letter written from Arcot and send it to you. You will learn everything from it.' Razâ Sâhib's letter says :—' Nawâb Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân asked me at what price elephants could be bought ; and when I told him, he was very pleased and praised me. There is news from Nâsîr Jang that when he heard of Anwar-ud-dîn Khân's death, he threw his turban on the ground and bit his hands.' When I reported this to the Governor, he ordered me to reply with compliments that his arrival was eagerly expected and that all matters could be discussed personally. I wrote accordingly and despatched the letter.

[1] *7th Purattâsi, Sukla.*

M. d'Auteuil went to the Governor at the Fort and reported that 70 of the Coffrees who marched with him against Anwar-ud-dîn Khân had thrown down their arms and dispersed to plunder. Thereupon the Governor assembled them at the Fort, ordered each to receive seventy stripes, and then went home.

Madame Dupleix sent for me at five o'clock this evening and said [ ].

Saturday, September 20.[1]—When I went to the Governor this morning, he showed me a petition from Anga Pillai of Covelong[2] and said, 'She[3] kept the petition for three or four days without saying anything about it. I will write to M. Bruno not to meddle with him, but to deliver paddy, salt, etc., to him, to help him in the present business, to hand everything over to Chandâ Sâhib's man or whoever brings my letter, and to bring in all the money received for goods sold before he receives my letter.' He wrote the letter, read it to me, and gave it to me sealed up, saying, 'Get good security for the amount Anga Pillai offers, and send him away. Let him call himself my man, take possession of the leased villages, sell paddy, salt, etc., and manage as he thinks best. I will speak to Chandâ Sâhib about the villages as soon as he comes and get a lease for them, and send the sanad to Anga Pillai. The

[1] *8th Purattâsi, Sukla.*

[2] Covelong had been granted to Dupleix.

[3] I suppose, Madame Dupleix.

money due to me in this affair must be paid with the instalments under the lease.'—He added that he would write that ten peons should be placed under him. I approved and went to the nut-godown with the letter to M. Bruno, Anga Pillai's petition and the accounts.

Then a letter came from Chandâ Sâhib saying, 'Nawâb Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân has reached Chêtpattu and Arni, and will come to Pondichery with me.' I reported this, and also the contents of Vakîl Subbayyan's letter from Wandiwash as follows:—'Taqî Sâhib has been appointed Naib of Arcot and given a naubat and a dress of honour, whereon all gave presents and the naubat was beaten. He proposes to go to Arcot on Sunday. Chandâ Sâhib is going to Pondichery and, after discussing matters there, will march towards Trichinopoly with Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân, to seize that place, Tanjore and Mysore. For this he is trying to raise 12,000 horse and 20,000 foot.' The Governor observed, 'What a stupid thing to do! They forget Taqî Sâhib has done nothing to help them. Why have they made him Dîwân and Naib of Arcot?' I replied, 'Taqî Sâhib and Chandâ Sâhib married sisters. Moreover Taqî Sâhib is rich and was for some time Dîwân under Dôst 'Alî Khân. He was then Hasan 'Alî Khân's Naib and master of Wandiwash and other places. You know that, since Anwar-ud-dîn Khân was made Nawâb, he has been Killedar of Wandiwash and has a jaghir.' When I spoke thus, he

said, 'Well, he is a cruel man. He will resist our plans to get Tiruviti and other pargannahs. But no matter; we have advanced two lakhs of rupees and we will have the places as a pledge. We only want to rent them like any one else, and do not even ask for a reduction of ten or twenty thousand. If they give us them, well; but if not, we must act according to circumstances.'—'That will be best,' I said.

I then said, 'Four or five years ago I lent Shaikh Fatteh Muhammad 30,000 rupees. Owing to my ill fortune, I incurred losses; but as a time of good fortune has begun for me, and as I have your favour, my debtors will come and offer to pay what they owe me. Muzaffar Khân has detached Shaikh Fatteh Muhammad with thirty sepoys and the latter is now at Pulichappâlaiyam, and will arrive to-morrow morning. He has money; but his evil heart prevents him from paying my debt. Peddu Nâyakkan comes with him.' The Governor said, 'God will bless you with more and more prosperity. Henceforward you will have good fortune. Wherever your debtors may be, whether here or in the Muhammadan country, show them no mercy, but seize them, get back your money and live at peace.' When we were thus talking, Sungu Sêshâchala Chetti, a ship's chaplain, M. Friell and two or three other gentlemen were saying that the merchants were all returning to Madras, that Malrâjâ, not Peddu Nâyakkan, had been appointed

poligar of Madras and that therefore Peddu Nâyakkan had gone to Gummudipûndi to arrange with the merchants about the poligarship. During the conversation, the Europeans also said, 'When Ranga Pillai was appointed dubâsh here,[1] he was given a badge, a *turra*, a chain, a staff, and a dress of honour; and a salute was fired. When Mr. Boscawen appointed Rangappa Nâyakkan dubâsh of Fort St. David, he was given other things as well, and permitted to have a flag carried before him and wear a white gown. He never goes out without his jewels, or flag.' The Governor replied, 'He served a sea-captain and could hardly afford rice-water. But two years ago he went to Fort St. David and took service under Mr. Boscawen, who gave him this post. The presents and the position are too great for him; and if he did not go about so boastfully, all would take him for a cooly.[2] Ranga Pillai is not like that. He belongs to a rich family, and has given many presents, etc., like those which we gave him and which Mr. Boscawen has given Rangappa Nâyakkan. So he sets no value

[1] This event probably took place early in the current year.

[2] In the previous month Ôrkandi Rangappa Nâyakkan had been appointed Chief Dubâsh at Fort St David, not by Boscawen, but by the President and Council, and allowed to use a roundel and torches within the Fort. (*Fort. St. David Cons.*, August 7, 1749.) He had been employed at Fort St. David as dubâsh ever since 1744 (Vol. I, p 248 *supra*), principally in commercial matters (Vol. II, p. 191 *supra*). When Fort St. David was threatened by the French in 1746–47, he seems to have taken an active part in organising the peons employed by the English. Like other *obiter dicta* of Dupleix, the remarks recorded by Ranga Pillai seem principally coloured by contemptuous prejudice.

upon them and only accepted them as marks of honour. They are nothing to him.' He thus praised me. I myself cannot describe this in detail, so I have written it briefly. Then the Governor and the other gentlemen talked together. I salaamed and went to the nut-godown with Sungu Sêshâchala Chetti.

Monday, September 22.[1] —As the Company's cloth was to be examined at the Fort this morning, I went there, examined it and had 35 bales packed.

Then I said to the Second, 'I have a Choultry bond on Sûnâmpattu Râma Chetti's house; but the St. Paul's priests have seized the house on account of Sûnâmpattu Râma Chetti's debt to them and the debt of Lazar, the oil-seller's son. Can they do this?' The Second replied, 'When you have a mortgage deed on the house, how can other people seize it? You may sell the house at outcry and take what is owed you.' I then showed him the bond registered at the *greffe* for 324 pagodas secured on the house of Nallatambi Ayyâtambi, younger brother of Tirukkâmu Ândiyappan. He read it and told me that I might realize the money by selling it at outcry. Then Tânappa Mudali, the Choultry dubâsh, came. I showed him the Choultry bond on Sûnâmpattu Râma Chetti's house and the account between us as settled by the arbitrators and signed by them and Tânappa Mudali. I also told him about

[1] *10th Purattâsi, Sukla.*

Ayyâtambi Nallatambi's house and the Second's orders, and requested him to sell the two houses at outcry this afternoon. He agreed. I informed the Second of this, and got his orders to Tânappa Mudali. When I was going away, having taken leave, the Governor's peon called me.

He ordered me to write with compliments to Chandâ Sâhib and Nawâb Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân that he was eagerly expecting their arrival though so long delayed. I wrote letters accordingly and despatched them with a letter to Vakîl Subbayyan.

Then Father Antony of the Kâttukôyil at Mylapore came to the Governor and said, 'Muhî-ud-dîn Sâhib came with ten horsemen and a parwâna from Chandâ Sâhib, and asked that Mylapore should be delivered to him. But I said that I could not do so without your orders, and so have come here.' Thereupon the Governor said that it should not be delivered to Muhî-ud-dîn Sâhib, and told me to write to Rahîm Khân, 'Abd-ul-rahmân's brother-in-law at Mylapore, ordering him to turn Muhî-ud-dîn Sâhib, Chandâ Sâhib's man, out of Mylapore and to guard and manage the place well until the Padre's return. I wrote an order accordingly, had it sealed, and gave it to the Padre, who despatched it to Mylapore with a letter to his man there.

Madame Dupleix then sent for Madanânda Pandit and had Persian letters written by him to Chandâ Sâhib and Razâ Sâhib, desiring them to give the management of Mylapore to the Padre.

Wednesday, September 24.[1]—The Governor said this morning, 'Chandâ Sâhib is a long time on his way here. The Wandiwash people must have dissuaded him; hence his delay. Well, a word from me to Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân, will have him replaced by some one else. We will see.' Antony, the Kâttukôyil Padre, interposed and said, 'The Tamils are observers of auspicious times and omens; and Muhammadans and even the English do as Brâhman astrologers tell them.' The Governor asked me if that were true. I said, 'It is. Not only the English and Muhammadans, but the Dutch also do this.'

After talking about these affairs, he told me to write to Chandâ Sâhib, saying that he was surprised not to have received the usual daily letters for the last six or seven days. I wrote accordingly with compliments, and despatched the letter.

At twelve o'clock, I went to the Company's godown to speak about the copper, and asked the merchants sharply why they delayed in bringing in goods for the Company. Then I came home.

I went to the Governor at seven o'clock this evening, and told him that Vakîl Subbayyan had left Wandiwash for Pondichery at ten o'clock yesterday morning, and that Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân should have reached Gingee yesterday evening. He asked when he would arrive. I said, on

[1] *12th Purattâsi, Sukla.*

Saturday or Sunday. Thereupon he ordered me to tell the bazaar-people and others to open shops north of the town. So I sent for Muruga Pillai, the Choultry writer, and told him. Then I sent for the poligar, ordering him strictly to appoint men to watch and prevent robberies and disturbances, and to see that no prisoners escaped in the bustle. I then dismissed him, and I went to the Company's godown, spoke to the merchants, and thence came home

Rangô Pandit came in advance and told me that Sôji Pandit (the amaldâr of Bhuvanagiri, Tiruviti and other pargannahs), Parasurâma Pillai and Viswanâtha Reddi of Bhuvanagiri had reached Arumpâtai Pillai's Choultry and that they would be here to-morrow.

Thursday, September 25.[1]—The Governor sent for me to-night and said, 'As Chandâ Sâhib and Hidâyat Muhî-nd-dîn Khân Bahâdûr Muzaffar Jang are coming here, you, M. St. Paul, M. d'Auteuil, M. Barthélemy and M. d'Albert must go with the dragoons, peons and other guards to receive them.' M. St. Paul, the Second, and other Europeans set out this morning to meet him and went to Mortândi Choultry. I came home at half-past seven, spoke with Muttukrishna Pandâram of Vêttavalam and, having told Gôpâlaswâmi and Venkatâchala Ayyan to come to-morrow morning, went with Sungu Sêshâchala Chetti to Perumâl Nâyakkan's Choultry,

[1] *13th Purattâsi, Sukla.*

where we slept. The Governor sent a peon for me but I stayed there all night, resolving to go to him early in the morning.

Friday, September 26.[1]—I and Sungu Sêshâchala Chetti returned to town this morning from Perumâl Nâyakkan's Choultry. After eating cold rice, I went to the Governor's house, as he had sent for me last night. I was told that he was still asleep, so I departed to the nut-godown, and went and salaamed as soon as he awoke. He said, 'I only wanted you last night in case you were in town, not otherwise.' We then talked for a while, and he said that I must go about three leagues to receive Chandâ Sâhib. Then he gave me leave, and I came home.

I set out for Perumâl Nâyakkan's Choultry with Sêshâchala Chetti; and, as soon as I had had my bath, Gôpâlaswâmi and Venkatâchala Ayyan arrived. I sent them in advance to Valudâvûr, and after eating went in the evening to Mortândi Choultry. There I spoke with the Second and others, and then proceeded to Tirusittambalam where I spent the night, intending to set out early in the morning.

[Saturday], September 27.[2]—M. St. Paul, the Second, M. Barthélemy, the Commandant of Madras, M. d'Auteuil, M. d'Albert, I, Sungu Sêshâchala Chetti, Pilaiporuttâ Pillai, amaldâr of Vriddhachalam, the dragoons, 50 horsemen and head-peon Savarimuttu and his peons, left Mortândi Choultry

[1] *14th Purattâsi, Sukla.*

[2] *15th Purattâsi, Sukla.*

with music and dancing-girls, etc., to welcome Chandâ Sâhib, and reached Valudâvûr before nine o'clock; the Second and others halted at Khâlif Khân's bungalow which stands amid mango groves on the bank of the river.

As Râmabhadra Reddi, who lives within the walls of Valudâvûr, had invited me to his house, I went there with Sungu Sêshâchala Chetti. He treated us with great respect and ordered supplies of food to be given to our Brâhmans, Gôpâlaswâmi, Sâmayyan the assayer, Venkatâchala Ayyan, Sêshâchala Chetti, Pilaiporuttâ Pillai and his people. I then heard that His Highness Nawâb Chandâ Sâhib and Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân, had reached Tiruvakkarai and Pâdirâppullûr respectively. I wrote two letters, in order to make sure of the news arriving, to Madanânda Pandit, to ask the Governor about Chandâ Sâhib's reception and his coming to Pondichery, to arrange for his quarters and to send people to Villiyanallûr and other villages.

Then Râjô Pandit came to me from Razâ Sâhib's camp with a letter from him. I wrote a reply and made Râjô Pandit also write, desiring Razâ Sâhib to send an elephant with a howdah for Chandâ Sâhib's reception and two elephants besides for the naubat. I also wrote to vakîl Subbayyan about these matters. I bathed at noon, ate in Râmabhadra Reddi's house, and made ready to go to the bungalow on the bank of the river where the Second and others were halting. Then Sungu Sêshâchala Chetti and others

came back from their feast. I then went to Râmabhadra Reddi's, Muttu Chinna Reddi's, Dharmasiva Reddi's, Muttukrishna Reddi's, Pachayappa Mudali's and others' houses, received *pân supârî*, went to the bungalow where the Second and others were, and talked with them. When we had gone about a mile to the northwards to meet Chandâ Sâhib, Shaikh Hasan, the second Jemadar, formerly a Mahé sepoy, arrived with some horsemen, and said that Chandâ Sâhib had halted at Tiruvakkarai with Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân, but had set out in advance in order to confer with the Governor and then return. All got out of their palankins. The horse-guards, Shaikh Hasan's sepoys and horsemen, Madame Dupleix' peons and others formed a line; and then Chandâ Sâhib came up in his palankin and halted at a distance of ten fathoms. I had an interview with him. Nawâb Razâ Sâhib got down quickly from his elephant's howdah and Chandâ Sâhib got out of his palankin. They walked ten paces to meet me. I did the same. Then we embraced and I offered the Governor's compliments, and enquired after his welfare. After talking for about quarter of an hour, they mounted again, and Chandâ Sâhib dismissed me saying, 'We will halt near the town to-night. You may go in advance and tell the Governor.' M. d'Auteuil and the horsemen marched north of Valudâvûr and camped at Mortândi Choultry. There were three salutes from the Fort when the Nawâb and the others

approached Valudâvûr. We (the Second and the rest of us) reached Pondichery at half-past seven and reported everything to the Governor. At ten o'clock I went again to speak with Nawâb Chandâ Sâhib at Arumpâtai Pillai's Choultry, entertained those who had come with him, distributed *pân supârî*, etc., paid them my compliments, and returned at three o'clock, as Chandâ Sâhib's procession is to take place before nine o'clock in the morning. I immediately saw the Governor and reported to him all the news. He sent for M. Duquesne, told him to draw up the troops and pitch tents, etc., at sunrise at the Villiyanallûr gate as the Nawâb was to enter by it. I sent for Parasurâma Pillai and ordered him to have provisions, etc , ready. I then came home after telling Periyanna Nayinâr to have the peons and the musicians in readiness.

Sunday, September 28.[1]—Many soldiers and sepoys formed a line this morning from the Villiyanallûr gate up to the Governor's house. The Governor, Councillors and other European gentlemen went at half-past seven to the tent pitched by the Villiyanallûr gate, accompanied by the naubat and music. As he ordered me to go with the Second, M. Guillard and one or two officers, and receive Nawâb Chandâ Sâhib at the Bound-hedge with music and dancing, and bring him in, we set out. When Chandâ Sâhib was nearing the Bound-hedge, M. d'Auteuil,

[1] *16th Purattâsi, Sukla.*

M. Bussy and others who had gone to Arcot with the army and who were waiting for Chandâ Sâhib's arrival at Mortândi Choultry, marched and joined us. Chandâ Sâhib, Razâ Sâhib, 'Alî Naqî Sâhib, Badr-ud-dîn Husain Khân Sâhib, Safdar 'Alî Khân's brother-in-law, and others arrived in great magnificence with their naubats beating. We met them near Nainiya Pillai's garden and, accompanying them, reached the Villiyanallûr gate at about nine. The Governor who was there met Chandâ Sâhib; and they embraced. Twenty-one guns were fired when they sat down. Then they inquired after each other's welfare. When they mounted and entered the gate on their way to the Governor's, a salute of twenty-one guns was fired, and another when they passed by the Fort. Another salute was fired when they were nearing the Governor's house. M. d'Albert, the Governor's brother-in-law, acted as Persian interpreter. After talking together, the Governor took Chandâ Sâhib, Razâ Sâhib, 'Alî Naqî Sâhib and others to Madame's room and all conversed there.

Chandâ Sâhib then related to the Governor and Madame the following story:—'I was carried prisoner to Satâra by the Marathas and was kept there. They treated me ill and imprisoned me in the Fort. Afterwards my fortune turned, God protected me, and having made terms with the Marathas, I left Satâra with some Maratha horsemen and some troops. Then I helped in the fight at Chittirakal

Bâman where my eldest son 'Abid Sâhib perished. Then Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân Bahâdûr Muzaffar Jang received the Pâdshâh's parwâna for the Deccan countries in the place of Nâsîr Jang, protected me and promising to give me the subah of Arcot, brought me with him. You were pleased to send my son Razâ Sâhib with soldiers, sepoys, guns, mortars, shot, powder, shell and other munitions against Arcot, slew my enemy Anwar-ud-dîn Khân, and established my fame by many victories. So by your help, I have won Arcot, and my life is yours.' When Chandâ Sâhib spoke thus with such compliments, the Governor replied suitably.

Then in the afternoon great tables were spread in the Governor's house, one for the Governor, Councillors and other gentlemen, and the other opposite for Chandâ Sâhib, Razâ Sâhib and other Muhammadan nobles. When all things had been brought from the kitchen, the Governor, the Councillors, Chandâ Sâhib, Razâ Sâhib and other Muhammadans all dined together. Twenty-one guns were fired when dinner was over. Then there was a nautch. They took supper also. I will write if there is anything more worth writing.

Monday, September 29.[1]—News came this morning that Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân arrived yesterday with all his forces at Khâlif Khân's bangalow on the bank of the river at Valudâvûr. As the

[1] *17th Purattâsi, Sukla.*

Governor has ordered the officers to keep the town gates open to admit all, the town is crowded with camp-people, horsemen, sepoys, elephants, camels, and infantry. Sêshâ Râo, Râmâ Râo, Appâji Pandit, Maratha Brâhman officials and other great people—Muhammadan, Maratha and Rajput jemadars of 500 to 5,000 horse who have come to see the festivities at Pondichery, fill the houses in the town. This time last year the English attacked us and rained fire upon us. People then thought that there was no escape as God was helping our enemies, the English, and giving them glory; but now He has sent hither the Nizâm, master of these countries, solely by reason of the good fortune of Mahârâja Râja Srî the Honourable General Monsieur Dupleix Avargal. Chandâ Sâhib was feasted this afternoon in the same manner as yesterday, and twenty-one guns were fired when they were at table. After joyful talk, Chandâ Sâhib set out for Valudâvûr to receive Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân who is to enter the town in state to-morrow. The Governor accompanied Chandâ Sâhib a certain distance out of respect and ordered M. St. Paul, the Second, M. Barthélemy, the Commandant of Madras, M. d'Albert, myself and one or two European gentlemen, with various kinds of troops, elephants, horsemen, the naubat and music, to receive Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân. Twenty-one guns were fired at the Fort when he set out. On reaching the tent pitched outside the Madras gate the Governor took

leave of Chandâ Sâhib, and all the guns on the battery near the Madras gate were fired together. Then the Governor returned to the Fort. We with Chandâ Sâhib and others reached and visited at night Nawâb Âsaf Jâh Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân Bahâdûr Muzaffar Jang who was halting on the bank of the Valudâvûr river, offered him the Governor's compliments, and requested him to visit Pondichery and feast his eyes on it. Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân replied, 'Do not doubt that Pondichery is to me as my own city. I will set out at sunrise to-morrow.' We stayed the night at Valudâvûr.

This afternoon a Europe ship came into the roads and saluted the Fort with nine guns. The Fort returned an equal number. I hear that she has brought 133 chests of silver. The King of France was overjoyed to hear of our victory over the English last year and has written to the Governor to act as he pleases in India.

Tuesday, September 30. [1]—Nawâb Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân Muzaffar Jang set out this morning in great pomp with his wife, all his troops, jemadars, viziers and other great people to visit the sea-port of Pondichery. At eight o'clock this morning, all the sepoys, soldiers, Coffrees, etc., were drawn up in a line according to their orders, from the barrier on the Madras Road to the Governor's house. The Governor took dinner at noon, and then went with all

[1] *18th Purattâsi, Sukla.*

the Councillors to the tent pitched near the Madras gate, where there was a performance of rope-dancing. At half-past twelve, Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân halted for prayer at Chinna Mudali's garden, west of the Madras toll-gate. I, the Second and others came on ahead and informed the Governor. Then Chandâ Sâhib came and talked to the Governor, and returned to Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân.

Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân having completed his prayers, arrayed himself in his jewels and set out with his son. Horsemen, elephants, quarter-masters,[1] musket-people and elephants with guns and others who bore arms came first and entered the town in array. The Governor set out from his tent and met Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân just as he was passing the Bound-hedge. They met this side of Mînâkshi Ammâl's Choultry, embraced and enquired after each other's welfare. Then all the guns on the batteries from the Madras gate to the corner of the sea-wall were fired together. All then entered the tent and watched a nautch. Then the Governor and Chandâ Sâhib went first; Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân Bahâdûr and his son came next in great pomp, seated in the howdah of his elephant, with Chandâ Sâhib's son, Razâ Sâhib, sitting behind in order that he might point out all the features of the Fort. All the guns were fired together when they entered the town gate. They

[1] Ranga Pillai writes *paravugal*. Query *fourriers*.

went in procession along the Râjâ Street where the soldiers were formed in line, then turned into the street wherein Muttayya Pillai of the tobacco godown lives, passed by the Councillors' houses, and, coming to the south gate of the Governor's house, got down from their elephants. The Governor came to the gate to receive him, and all sat down inside. Four or five of the big guns on the sea-wall battery were fired continuously for about half an hour, making a loud roar. The ships fired both their broadsides. Then the Governor showed Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân Bahâdûr Muzaffar Jang, Nawâb Chandâ Sâhib, Razâ Sâhib, 'Alî Naqî Sâhib and others, the curiosities in his house—the fine violet glass, the fine crystal chandeliers which hung in several places, and the factory writing-rooms, etc. On seeing them, they were overjoyed, and said, 'Yours is real happiness, such as no other enjoys. Your good fortune will always crown your actions with success.' As they thus wished him prosperity, there was heavy rain which continued the whole night; so Muzaffar Jang supped at the Governor's house whither everything was brought from the kitchen. The Governor too sat down and supped with them, sumptuously as at a bridal-feast.

OCTOBER 1749.

Wednesday, October 1.[1]—I sent for Parasurâma Pillai and Vinâyaka Pillai and ordered them carefully to watch the Governor's house and kitchen. I then sent for Gôpâlaswâmi, and told him to post four peons at Chandâ Sâhib's house and gave chits for the batta, etc., for Muzaffar Jang's and Chandâ Sâhib's great men and followers. Allowances were also given by the Company to Sêshâ Râo, Râmâ Râo, Appâji Pandit, Jaganivâsa Râo, Ayyanayyan, Trichinopoly Kônappayyan's son, Raghunâtha Râo and others who have come.

Annâswâmi, a Brâhman, has been living here for the last four or five months, putting on airs and calling himself Sêshâ Râo's younger brother. He has been going to Madame, telling her that he was so and so, and that he owned the nine priceless gems. As Madame opens her mouth at the sound of a cash, she swallowed all his lies, protected him, met all his expenses, gave him Vâjappayyan's lodgings, supplied him with a cot, mattress, pillows, etc., and appointed four peons to wait on him. He had with him a Nambiyân,[2] a tattling fellow, from Madras. He has been speaking contemptuously of the townspeople as though he had no equals. He has been luring dancing girls to him with promises

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[1] *15th Purattâsi, Sukla.*

[2] A temple priest of the Brâhman caste.

of golden jewels A Kômutti with him helped him to get credit from cloth, rice and provision sellers, so that he lived in luxury and extravagance. When Sêshâ Rao arrived, this fellow prepared a bed, etc., in his abode and appeared regardless of anything, living in splendour. But when Sêshâ Râo visited Madame, she said, 'Your younger brother who is here is a clever man.' Sêshâ Râo replied, 'Have I either elder or younger brother? He is unknown to me.' Thus mocking him, he went to the pretender's lodgings in Vâjappayyan's house, saw him, beat him severely, kicked him into a corner, and set two armed peons to guard him. At first he said that he was a servant of Venkayyan with-the-itch, then of Nâranappayyan, and so forth. Till now God has helped his cunning; we shall see what happens to him now.

When Muzaffar Jang and Chandâ Sâhib dined at noon in the Governor's house, 21 guns were fired in their honour. After four o'clock, the Governor took them into the Fort, showed them the armoury, powder magazine, the counting house, silver godown, warehouses, rockets and guns and clock-tower. Then they returned to the Governor's house. I stayed till eight o'clock at night in the nut-godown and wrote in French the details of the assessment, etc., of the pargannahs of Tiruviti, Bhuvanagiri, Wandiwash and Chingleput, etc., for the Governor. I also wrote out the business on which have come people from the Poligar of

Râjapâlaiyam, Pandâri of Vêttavalam, Tondimân, the Maravan Sêtupati, Udayâ Thêvan, Muttu Mâsi Reddi of Turaiyûr and Vâlikondâpuram, etc. When I was discussing their affairs with Gôpâlaswâmi, Nellore Achayya and Mângâdu Kôdandarâma Ayyan came and told me that they had been sent from the Daivanâyakaswâmi temple at Tiruvêndipuram to give me with a blessing, *maru*-leaves and *kuru*-root.[1] I think this portends success in all my affairs; all happens according to a man's fortune.

Sêshâdri Pillai arrived this morning from Chingleput.

Muzaffar Khân quarrelled with Sôji Pandit and Rangô Pandit of the five *mahals* of Tiruviti, Bhuvanagiri, etc., and with Parasurâma Pillai because they had not even written to thank him for his trouble in their affairs; he demanded their accounts from them, and kept them so closely that they could not even go out for their food. When I reported this to the Governor, he said, 'You do not seem to know your powers, although I have given you all authority. How can a man be imprisoned without your orders? If they are not released, imprison those who have imprisoned them.' When I sent this order to Muzaffar Khân, he released them.

Thursday, October 2.[2]—After washing my face and eating cold rice this morning, I went to the

[1] Leaves of the fragrant *Artemisia austriaca* and *kuru*-root are used for ceremonial purposes.

[2] *20th Purattâsi, Sukla.*

Governor's and thence to the nut-godown. After conversing there, I sent for the Company's merchants and told them repeatedly to bring in cloth quickly for the lading of the ships.

When Muzaffar Jang dined at the Governor's house at noon, 21 guns were fired.

The Governor sent for M. Duquesne to-day and told him to draw up all the soldiers, and divide them into two armies for a sham fight. He then sent for the master-gunner and told him to prepare the guns *à minute*, etc., and dismissed him with orders for cartridges and powder. Accordingly all the soldiers, majors and captains, were ready drawn up after three o'clock east of the Fort. Then the Governor, Muzaffar Jang, Chandâ Sâhib, the Europeans, jemadars and others went to watch from the clock-tower in the Fort. Muzaffar Jang's wife and other women watched from a tent with curtains to hide them, pitched on the south corner battery. All the soldiers were drawn up in one line, and they fired a volley. Guns were fired from the ships as though for a fight. Thinking that the space south of the Fort would be suitable for the sham fight between the soldiers, the Governor ordered all the captains to assemble there. He, Muzaffar Jang and others sat down under the flagstaff on the southern rampart and watched the fight. Then the soldiers, majors, captains, officers and sergeants, etc., were divided into two armies, one drawn up to the south and the other to the north. There were

twenty horse-guards on each side with swords drawn and also two guns *à minute* and two mortars. Then the two armies fired continuously upon each other with their guns *à minute* and mortars, being loaded with powder only, in imitation of war. The horse-guards with brandished swords charged through the smoke as though about to slay their enemies. But when the mortars, guns and muskets were fired at the horsemen, some fell and others fled. Then one side took the other's position by a stratagem, and the enemy fired cannon and shells at the Fort, till the smoke poured up into the sky and descended, covering the Fort with a whirling cloud, as though shot and shell were falling upon it. Those in the Fort fired many guns at the enemy till they retreated. Thus they fought for about two hours, firing their muskets, guns *à minute* and mortars from the Fort, so terribly as to make pregnant women miscarry. The captains shouted all together with the sound of thunder or like lions. Thus they fought to the joy of the on-lookers. Muzaffar Jang Bahâdûr, the Nawâb, and other noblemen with gumastahs, jemadars and others from the camp, watched this, with countless crowds of people who had assembled there. When all was over, the Governor went home I also watched from the Fort till six o'clock in the evening and then went to the nut-godown. As Shaikh Hasan, the Second Jemadar, was talking to me, a peon came and said that the Governor wanted me. Before I

went, I sent for Kandâl Guruvappa Chetti and asked him to go to the Company's godown and tell the merchants to bring their cloth to the Fort quickly. Then I went to the Governor's. After seeing him, I went to the nut-godown and talked to the Vêttavalam Pandâram. Again I was told that the Governor wanted me. When I went, he said, 'Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân will not sup with me to-night, so go to his lodgings, arrange for his food, etc., and then come back here.' I agreed, went to the nut-godown, drank tea, and told Peddu Nâyakkan to go to the Council-house where Muzaffar Jang is lodged and let me know what he was doing. He returned and said that he was at his prayers. I sent him back with orders to come and tell me when his prayers were over. He did so. Then I went thither, sent for everything from the kitchen and stayed till he and the Nawâb had supped

While I was talking leisurely with Chandâ Sâhib, I was told that the Governor called me. I took my leave, went to the Governor's, told him about Muzaffar Jang's meal, and then spoke of other matters; I went to the nut-godown at eleven o'clock and thence came home.

When I went to the Fort to see the sight to-day, there was a disturbance near the flag-staff. The European sentinel struck 'Alî Naqî Sâhib with the butt of his musket. 'Alî Naqî Sâhib, Chandâ Sâhib and Razâ Sâhib departed, much displeased with this mark of disrespect. The reason was that, when

Muzaffar Jang and others came to the Governor's house yesterday and the day before, there was a great crowd, and Razâ Sâhib was told that noblemen could not be distinguished from others in such a throng, and was desired to appoint his own people to make way for him. But Razâ Sâhib replied that there was no need as the guards could keep off the people with their muskets. A man's actions bring their own punishment; as the proverb says, a loaf placed in the roof may burn the house. That is the case here. Moreover the Governor did not invite Muzaffar Jang through Chandâ Sâhib to eat and see the sights; so the latter wishes that neither he nor Muzaffar Jang had come here, but knows that he is helpless as he has done so. So their visit has brought them perplexity and they know not what to do.

When I went to the Governor's house last night, he said, 'When Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân came here last night to see the sights, he himself settled the complaints that should have been brought to me. Even the councillors say that he is no better than a chobdar or a valet, and that he is unfit for such rank.' I replied, 'You are Pâdshâh and he is but a mansabdar. Your glory shines so brightly from the Himâlayas to Râmêsvaram, that you can raise up or cast down subahdars. Yet he behaves so.'

The Governor was delighted and said my words were true. He then asked the value of the elephant presented to him by Muzaffar Khân and added, 'I

do not want his property; I shall return it to him.' I replied that it was worth 1,500 or 2,000 rupees.

A month ago Sôji Pandit seized 'Abd-ul-jalîl Khân's elephant and sent it here. It was given to the Governor together with the five guns which M. d'Auteuil had brought away from Anwar-ud-dîn Khân's camp without Chandâ Sâhib's knowledge. But the Governor did not want them, so he gave them to Chandâ Sâhib.

Razâ Sâhib came to Madame to-day, and said, 'Muzaffar Khân wishes to have the command of 2,000 horse and desires the privilege of a palankin for himself and his sepoys. Moreover he demands 40 rupees a month for each horseman, 12 rupees for each sepoy and for himself 600 rupees. At that rate they will need 30 lakhs of rupees a year—the revenue of the whole Carnatic.' This affair was talked about when Madame sent for Razâ Sâhib and asked him to renew Father Antony's parwâna for Mylapore and to seize Muhammad Kamâl's property. Razâ Sâhib replied, 'As for the matter you speak of, Muzaffar Khân's younger brother married Muhammad Kamâl's daughter; that is why Muzaffar Khân takes on himself to interfere. If anything goes wrong with Muzaffar Khân's affair, I fear what you will think. So all things must be considered. These are his present demands.' So saying he repeated what is written above.

Razâ Sâhib spoke to me of this when I went to Valudâvûr to receive them. I promised him that

I would ask the Governor to do as he wished. Now Razâ Sâhib has taken occasion to speak about it to Madame who replied that, if Father Antony's parwâna for Mylapore were renewed, she would recover all that was owing from Muzaffar Khân and send him to Mahé by ship, so that he (Razâ Sâhib) could manage affairs with 'Alî Khân and Shaikh Ibrâhîm. Thereupon Razâ Sâhib gave the parwâna in the presence of Madame in the Padre's name. Muzaffar Khân's affair is to be settled thus.

Friday, October 3.[1]—When I went to the Governor's this morning, he said, 'Go and ask Chandâ Sâhib when I should visit Muzaffar Jang to receive the presents.' So I went to Chandâ Sâhib's lodging and inquired. He said, 'The presents are not ready yet. I will go to Muzaffar Jang at four o'clock this afternoon, arrange about them, and send for you.' I reported this to the Governor.

I went at four o'clock to Chandâ Sâhib's house, talked to him about the presents, and we then went to the Council-house where Muzaffar Jang is lodged and talked with him upstairs. As he told me to bring the Governor, I went and conducted him to Muzaffar Jang's lodging. The Governor, Madame and his daughter were given presents as follows:—

To the Governor:—A gold-sprigged lace turban like Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân's and a *sarpech* to fasten it set with diamonds with rubies in the

[1] *21st Purattâsi, Sukla.*

middle, a great pendant emerald hanging from it and a *kalgiturra* with pendant pearls (Muzaffar Jang himself put this turban on the Governor's head); a breast ornament set with diamonds and an emerald in the middle; a fine dress of honour, with five jewels; a great elephant.

To Madame:—A fine dress of honour.

To her daughter:—A dress of honour.

Having presented these gifts, Muzaffar Jang set out with the Governor, Razâ Sâhib and other great men to watch the mortars firing. Twenty-one guns were fired. They then passed by the tobacco-godown and went to the eastern bastion by the Madras gate. Four or five mortars were fired from the seawall battery on the north; some shells burst on the ground and some in the air, to the north of the beach. Then Muzaffar Jang, the Governor and others went to the Governor's house; and when the others withdrew, the Governor went to M. Friell's house. A great table was spread in the Governor's house and Madame, the Councillors' wives and other European ladies with Muzaffar Jang's mother and wife—all these sat down to dinner.

When Nawâb Chandâ Sâhib was at Wandiwash, he promised Taqî Sâhib to appoint him Dîwân; so this afternoon Chandâ Sâhib appointed 'Alî Naqî Sâhib Naib faujdar. 'Alî Razâ Khân gave a nazar of 5 pagodas and Sêshâ Râo and Raghunâtha Râo 5 rupees each.

Srînivâsa Âchâriyâr, the amaldâr of Tirupati, owed a large sum to the Sarkar, but fled as he could not pay. It was therefore resolved to appoint Vâsudêva Âchâriyâr amaldâr on condition of paying down a lakh of pagodas for the outstanding dues and this year's rent. He promised to pay this sum within five days after reaching Tirupati and agreed to pay 47,000 pagodas a year for three years counting from next year.[1] It was decided to write the sanad accordingly, get it sealed and send off Vâsudêva Âchâriyâr to-morrow.

Dabbili Râyappa Râjâ, an enemy of Bommarâja-pâlaiyam, has arranged with the Nawâb Sâhib through Muzaffar Khân, the chief jemadar, for an army to be sent with him, and has agreed to pay six lakhs of rupees within a month of his capturing the pâlaiyam and being installed as Râjâ. So it has been settled to send Muzaffar Khân with him in two or three days with three or four thousand troops. They may succeed in their first attack, but if that fails, they can do nothing.

A European was injured by one of the shells fired this evening.

I went to the Fort at eight o'clock this morning, and spoke with the Second and others about the packing of the 39 bales of the Company's merchants'

[1] The Tirupati revenues consisted of the dues collected from the pilgrims at the three annual pilgrimages, and amounted to Rs. 45,000 pagodas *plus* Rs. 52,000. I suppose the run-away amaldâr to be the same as the man who managed the Tirupati revenues for the English later on.

cloth, both bleached and other sorts. Then I went to the Governor's, as a peon came and said that he wanted me.

Saturday, October 4.[1]—I washed my face this morning, ate cold rice, and went to the Governor's. He said, 'I hear that the elephant presented to me yesterday by Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân has an incurable ulcer in the throat. Tell Nawâb Chandâ Sâhib to change it for another.' When I spoke to Chandâ Sâhib, he said, 'Very well, return it. All the elephants are out now, but I will order them to be brought to-morrow, choose a good one, and give it in exchange.'

Râjô Pandit came to the Nawâb Sâhib and said, 'About the batta, provisions, etc., for the Europeans, M. d'Auteuil has given in accounts from his leaving Arcot up to his arrival at Pondichery, although they halted at Mortândi Choultry. He has broken his word in demanding payment up to his arrival here.' The Nawâb Sâhib turned to me and said, 'I settled his accounts up to their leaving Arcot, gave 5,000 rupees for expenses on the march, and gave a note for the balance of 7,012 rupees to be paid at a fixed time. If they halted at Mortândi Choultry for 20 or 25 days, how can they claim batta for that?' I replied, 'M. d'Auteuil told the Governor that, when he set out from Arcot before you with the European army, you

[1] *22nd Purattâsi, Sukla.*

told him to halt with his army either at Valudâvûr or Mortândi Choultry until you reached Pondichery. The Governor replied that, if you had given such an order, he should wait at Mortândi Choultry and arrive with you. According to your orders, he did so. So you must pay the Europeans' batta during their halt outside.' The Nawâb Sâhib replied, 'In that case, the 500 Europeans and 102 peons under head-peon Savarimuttu marched hence two-and-a-half months ago. They should then receive batta till now at a rupee daily for each man.[1] They have received 70 or 80 thousand for these two-and-a-half months. But according to their account they now demand 20 or 30 thousand more. These people will cost about a lakh of rupees for this period. Please tell the Governor and I will pay if he orders.' I replied, 'It will be decided according to your friendship,' and thus I evaded the question. If 500 soldiers and 102 peons cost a lakh of rupees for two months and a half, what will a large army cost?

When I went to the Governor to-day he mentioned the two elephants, dresses of honour, and the jewels set with precious stones given as a present by Chandâ Sâhib to himself, Madame and her daughter, on Monday, September 29, the

[1] This was a more liberal scale than that paid the English by Muhammad 'Alî, which was a rupee for sergeants, ¾ of a rupee for corporals and drummers, and ½ a rupee for privates. *Country Correspondence*, 1749, p. 12.

elephant, dress of honour and jewels set with precious stones presented by Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân to himself yesterday, and the dresses of honour presented to Madame and her daughter by Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân's wife. He said, 'The jewels, elephants and so on (as written above) are worthless. I do not want them, and will return them. Tell me what Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân's presents are worth.' I replied, 'Seven or eight hundred pagodas.' He replied, 'I do not think they are worth so much. They may be worth about 200 pagodas. What is the value of the two elephants given by Chandâ Sâhib?' I replied, 'I reckon them at 4,000 rupees; but they may value them at 1,000 rupees.'—'Well, we shall see,' he replied.

The Governor then told me to go to Chandâ Sâhib, and, on my return I found Sungu Sêshâchala Chetti there. The Governor was asking him to value the jewels presented by Chandâ Sâhib to him, Madame and her daughter. Giving me the jewels presented to him by Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân and those he had shown to Sêshâchala Chetti, he desired me to find out their exact value. I took them accordingly and with Sungu Sêshâchala Chetti valued them as follows :—

The value of the jewels set with precious stones presented to the Governor by Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân :—

9 rubies in the *turra* ...	...	50 pagodas.
Small rubies ...	... ...	20 „

28 diamonds weighing 10 manjâdis	100	pagodas.
5 pearls	15	,,
The gold setting	125	,,
Total value of the *turra* ...	210 [1]	,,
36 diamonds in the breast ornament weighing 8 manjâdis	110	pagodas.
1 fine emerald in the pendant weighing 12 rattis [2] ...	72	,,
1 emerald of good water in the middle, weighing 20 rattis.	40	,,
Gold	10	,,
Total value of the breast ornament	232	,,
The emerald in the middle of the *sarpech* weighing 30 rattis	100	pagodas.
2 rubies	40	,,
2 pearls	30	,,
28 diamonds weighing 7 manjâdis	84	,,
Gold	16	,,
Total value of the *sarpech* ...	270	,,
Total value of the three jewels.	712 [3]	,,

[1] *Sic.* The total should be 310 pagodas.
[2] See *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* Ruttee.
[3] *Sic.* The total should be 812 pagodas.

The value of the jewels presented by Chandâ Sâhib to the Governor, Madame, and her daughter and by Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân's wife to Madame and her daughter :—

One *sarpech*	400	pagodas.
Turra set with diamonds ...	565	"
A small *sarpech*	550	"
A small *turra*	54	"
Two fine dresses	436	"
Four bangles	280	"
Two pendants	54	"
A great breast ornament ...	400	"
A pair of pearl-embroidered slippers	180	"
Turra	210	"
A breast ornament	232	"
A small *sarpech*	240	"
Total ...	3,622[1]	"

The Governor was informed of this valuation and noted it in his account. The dresses of honour and the elephants were not valued as we were not desired to value them.

Râyappa Râjâ, otherwise called Dabbili, who has been intriguing by means of Muzaffar Khân, was allowed to sit on the Nawâb Sâhib's elephant to-day, and promised that Râjapâlaiyam should be conquered and given to him, and that troops should be sent from the Fort.

[1] Actually 3,601 pagodas.

This evening, Muzaffar Jang, the Governor and Razâ Sâhib returned from Olukarai whither they had driven out. I shall write later what happened there.

I went to the Governor to-day and said that, as Muzaffar Jang was here, he might be asked to give a jaghir for my fort. The Governor said, 'Then go to Chandâ Sâhib and ask him to speak to Muzaffar Jang about it and do your best to get yourself the jaghir.' But when I went to Chandâ Sâhib and asked him, he gave me an indifferent reply, as he has been uneasy for the last three or four days, and began to speak of his own affairs. But when I urged him to settle the business, he promised to do so. Then I went to the Governor and told him that Chandâ Sâhib had promised to speak to Muzaffar Jang and get me the jaghir. He then told me to go to Muzaffar Jang myself and settle the affair. But I said, 'If I do so, Chandâ Sâhib will take it ill; so the affair must be managed through him. Muzaffar Jang is like a child that will lie in any one's arms, but he is close-fisted about money; so it must be managed through Chandâ Sâhib, else he will be displeased.' The Governor said, 'No matter if Chandâ Sâhib be displeased; you had better go to Muzaffar Jang and speak about it; if he gives a jaghir, well and good; if not, no harm will be done.' I replied that I ought to go to Muzaffar Jang only in case Chandâ Sâhib did nothing; but he said, 'They delay, and do not keep their word. You need not consider these things; go and speak

to him.' I agreed and came away; but hearing Muzaffar Jang was asleep after eating, I told the Governor of this and he said, 'We are driving out this evening; so go to-morrow and speak to him.' I agreed and came away.

I hear that Sambu Dâs (Sankaraparik's son) is halting in a tent near Mînâkshi Ammâl's Choultry north of the Fort. I also hear that Nawâb Chandâ Sâhib has ceased his correspondence with the English at Fort St. David through Sâmâ Râo, and has himself written to them that he will go there to see their greatness and has sent a present of cloths.[1]

Sunday, October 5.[2]—A great elephant, about 6 cubits high, was given to the Governor this morning, instead of that presented by Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân the day before yesterday. Twenty-one guns were fired when the Governor went in state to-day with Europeans and Muzaffar Jang to the Fort Church. Another salute of twenty-one guns was fired when they returned after hearing mass and the music of the vina. Then Muzaffar Jang went to his lodging to eat.

The Governor told his writer Ranga Pillai to give 1,000 rupees to Muzaffar Jang's servants. Ranga Pillai said he would send the amount presently.

The Governor then told me to ask Chandâ Sâhib to give dresses of honour and horses to the Second

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[1] For Chandâ Sâhib's correspondence with the English, see *Country Correspondence*, 1749, pp. 25–30, 35–36.

[2] *23rd Purattâsi, Sukla.*

and the next four Councillors, and dresses of honour to the other three. I went accordingly to Chandâ Sâhib and said, 'You are fortunate by reason of your benevolence; wherefore God will always crown your actions with complete success. But though Taqî Sâhib and Vellore Murtazâ 'Alî Khân own property worth forty or fifty lakhs, they love money and can do nothing great.' This I illustrated by the story of Râjâ Krishna Râo, who was taking an oil bath in the presence of the vakîl from Delhi. Having spilt a drop of the oil, he took it on his finger and rubbed it on his head. The vakîl seeing this, went out and wrote that Krishna Râo had become a lover of money, and that if troops were sent they could easily take his kingdom. They were sent accordingly. Then Krishna Râo sent for Appâji and asked why an army had been sent without cause. Appâji asked if anything had happened when the Delhi vakîl had been present fifteen days before. Krishna Râo, having pondered a little, said, 'When I was having my oil bath, I spilt a drop of oil and taking it, I rubbed it on my head. That is all.' Thereupon Appâji said, 'Because you did so, he must have written that you had grown miserly and that, if an army were sent, it would conquer the country. So, if you again take your oil bath in his presence and anoint yourself copiously,[1] the army will be recalled.' When

[1] Reading, *ôdaththakkathâka* for *thodathathakkathâka*.

Krishna Râo did so, the vakîl reflected that this must have been the work of Appâji, and recalled the army, as nothing could be done so long as Appâji was there.[1] Then I continued, 'But you are great-minded. When Safdar 'Alî Khân perished, and so great a man as the Nizâm marched to Trichinopoly, these men feared to resist him, because of their meanness, and abandoned their rank and power. You, though poor and a prisoner with your enemy, have won power, territory and glory by your great-heartedness. Merchants and the fathers of families may be niggardly and desire wealth alone; but great men like you, whom Râja Lakshmi favours, should not think only of wealth, but spend abundantly, conquer kingdom after kingdom and display their power.' The Nawâb Sâhib was overjoyed and said, 'Many have I conversed with, but with none who thus spoke my very thoughts. Though all my people opposed me, I longed for conquests, and, refusing to hear them, I conquered Tanjore and Trichinopoly as far as Janârdhanam and would have conquered Mysore also; but my own people, Safdar 'Alî Khân and Mîr Sâhib, and the Maratha invasion, brought my efforts to nothing. Even lately when I was at Arcot, all my people said that the Arcot country was enough and that I did not need Trichinopoly. But I did not listen, and

[1] Appâji is said to have been the Minister of one of the Chandragiri râjâs. He is the hero of a considerable number of folk-tales.

set out, resolved to take Trichinopoly at all costs. You have spoken my very thoughts. This is no place for such wisdom and discretion as yours. You should be Dîwân under men like the Nizâm or me, and conquer kingdoms. I now know your desire and ability. Men like you, fit to earn and spend thirty lakhs for every one you handle now, are much too great to serve under Europeans. With God's blessing you are destined to high rank—none can doubt it. My words will be fulfilled.' I replied with compliments, 'You are a great man and by your favour, I have attained my present rank.' He then said that I must speak to the Governor suitably about the affair of the Europeans. I promised to do so. Then when I mentioned the presents for the Councillors of which I have written above, he said he would satisfy them. After talking with him about these matters, I came away.

This evening I went to Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân Bahâdûr Muzaffar Jang and said, 'You are as the Pâdshâh; and as you have come here, be pleased to assign lands as a jaghir for my fort as a mark of remembrance.' When I spoke thus, he said he would satisfy me and added, 'Tell Miyân Mas'ûd, my Dîwân. Say that we will depart after doing as you wish.' I agreed and, going to Miyân Mas'ûd, spoke about it alluringly. He promised to settle the matter, and said I should speak about it to-morrow afternoon. Then I came away.

At half-past six, I went to Chandâ Sâhib's house and found Sambu Dâs there. We spoke together. I then went to the Governor's.

We have been preparing rockets for the last month, against Muzaffar Jang's arrival, and a great structure like a car about a hundred feet high was put up in the middle of the space south of the Governor's house and north of the Fort, covered all over with green leaves. Then all kinds of fire-works—coloured lights, sky rockets, moonlights[?], squibs and other fireworks—were brought and fastened to it. This evening, as soon as darkness fell, a lakh of lights were lit on the Fort and on the walls round the Governor's house, till all was as bright as day. A pavilion was set up on the roof of the Governor's house, and chairs, etc., were arranged there. The Governor, Muzaffar Jang, Nawâb Chandâ Sâhib, Razâ Sâhib and other gentlemen assembled there to watch. All the townspeople and those who followed the camp in crores, filled every empty place. By a cunning device the fireworks were connected in four or five places with the Governor's house. When all was ready, four guns were fired in the Fort as a signal, and the device in the Governor's house was lit, so that the rockets took fire. Crores of rockets went off with a terrible roaring, and moon-lights, coloured lights and other kinds of fireworks filled the sky, which became as bright as though a crore of suns were shining. Paper grenades were fired from mortars,

rose into the sky like shells, and burst with a shower of sparks. This went on for about two hours. To prevent confusion, soldiers and sepoys were drawn up two deep all round, as continuous as fort walls, before the fireworks were let off. After watching this, all the Europeans went home.

Monday, October 6.[1]—I washed my face this morning, ate cold rice, and went to the Governor's. It was arranged last night to have the ships ready to show to Muzaffar Jang, Nawâb Chandâ Sâhib, Razâ Sâhib and other great men to-day. When I enquired about it, I was told that it had been postponed, because Nawâb Muzaffar Jang had received a letter saying that Morâri Râo was marching with 3,000 horse and 10,000 Pindaris, turning everything upside down, plundering the country and causing great confusion; that he intended to march to Arcot; and that Nâsîr Jang had marched southward from Aurangabad with 30,000 horse and had advanced seven stages. Thereupon Muzaffar Jang sent urgently to Chandâ Sâhib for two lakhs of rupees, to meet his expenses. The Governor then sent for me and said, 'What did Chandâ Sâhib say about the jaghir? We must not let Muzaffar Jang depart without settling it. Did you speak to him about it?' I replied, 'I asked about the jaghir and have given a petition praying for jaghirs for the

[1] *24th Purattâsi, Sukla.*

Valudâvûr and Bâhûr killas and for the nine villages. They have noted it and said orders would be given to-morrow night.'—'Very well,' he said, and told me to go to Chandâ Sâhib and ask when he could come to talk at length with him. I went to Chandâ Sâhib and said, 'The Governor wishes to have about two hours' conversation with you, as he wishes to arrange certain matters through you. So you should go to him.' Chandâ Sâhib said, 'I will certainly do so, even if I have to delay the evening prayer for half an hour.' Then he added, 'We want two lakhs of pagodas at once. Till now he has helped us much. Tell him that, if he helps us now with these two lakhs of pagodas which shall be repaid in two months, we will mortgage lands worth ten lakhs for these two, and will take back the lands when the money has been paid; it will be enough if he pays the money after taking possession of the lands. You must explain to him and make him give what is needed.' I replied frankly, 'You and he are great people. You must talk together and what he says must be done. This is not a matter which can be settled by a third person.'

Then Chandâ Sâhib said, 'Mîr Ghulâm Husain's wealth is mine, not his, because he began service under me as a trooper. Partly by the plunder of Trichinopoly and elsewhere, and partly owing to the enmity between me and Safdar 'Alî Khân, Mîr Ghulâm Husain made much money. Then I had

to go to Satâra, and Murtazâ 'Alî Khân murdered Safdar 'Alî Khân. So he kept the money in his hands, there being no one to take it from him. But he has died without a son, so his money is mine. They live in your town, and, if you contrive to get the money for me, the Governor will gain much thereby. Your affairs too will profit. Imâm Sâhib's case is the same.' I replied that I would speak to the Governor about it.

Then Sambu Dâs came. On seeing him Chandâ Sâhib said, 'Please arrange for him to visit the Governor, and ask him to forgive his faults for my sake.' I replied that I would tell all things to the Governor and arrange his visit. Then Chandâ Sâhib said, 'If you will send troops to settle my business with Tanjore and Trichinopoly, I will give many villages as an inam (besides those you now enjoy) and pay the Governor one or two lakhs and reward you also suitably ; thus I shall be able to settle the Trichinopoly matter.' After speaking of trivial matters he continued, 'French troops will march to Aurangabad ; and Masulipatam and other seaports shall be given to the French. I will also give a jaghir there. Moreover I will conquer all the countries from Mysore up to the Narbadâ and rule as the Nizâm did formerly. The Marathas are coming to assist me with a lakh of horsemen, under Sau Bhâji Râo, Fatteh Singh and others, and with them [ ].'

Monday, October 20.[1]—The Governor sent for me this morning, and asked for the bonds written last night for the sums owing to him. I said, 'There are two bonds for the money due according to your accounts, one for 3,09,000 rupees due to you and the other for 1,12,521 rupees due to the Company; and I have got a mortgage on countries worth eight lakhs.' He wrote down what I said in French, kept the two bonds, and gave me back the mortgage bond with Razâ Sâhib's bond for 10,000 rupees which he had borrowed, Khân Bahâdûr's three bonds for 2,000 pagodas, 3,200 rupees and 1,000 rupees, and another bond for 1,000 rupees which had not been entered in the accounts. I told him that this last had not been entered in the French account he had given me. Thereupon he said, 'You must have the account which I myself wrote in French. Bring it me.' I came home, got the account drawn by him on November 17, 1748, and showed it him He read it and said, 'This account is right. A bond for 1,000 rupees was given when they wanted a bill of exchange on Bukkanji Kâsi Dâs at the Nizâm's camp, but the matter was not then settled, so no money was ever paid. They never asked for the return of the bond and so I still have it. That is all. No money was paid.' The bonds given by Khân Bahâdûr, that for 10,000 rupees borrowed by Razâ Sâhib and the bond

[1] *8th Arppisi, Sukla.*

given for his expenses when he set out against Anwar-ud-dîn Khân, [ ].

Wednesday, October 22.[1]—The Governor sent for me this morning and asked if I had settled the lease affair of Pilichapallam and Covelong and the mint-people's business, the agreement with the killedar of old Gingee for cavalry, and the affair with the Vêttavalam Pandâram, and taken bonds from them. I replied, 'I have ordered the writers to write the bonds, which have been copied, but the copies have not yet been checked, sealed and attested by the munshis. It will be done to-day.'—'Settle it quickly and get the bonds,' he said, and added, 'I have four bonds of Razâ Sâhib on account of our secret transactions. They consist of an agreement made by Razâ Sâhib that he should pay 'Abd-ul-rahmân's 1,500 sepoys and 86 horsemen, instead of the Company, from March 1, on condition that the sepoys should march whenever required; and also three bonds agreeing to pay me 15,000 rupees. Take them and give them to Razâ Sâhib, without his father or any body else knowing.' I took them, went to Razâ Sâhib and gave them to him secretly in the presence of Râjô Pandit. He received them and said that Madanânda Pandit ought not to be told about them. I said that I would never reveal a word and, if anything came out, it would be through him.[2]

[1] *10th Arppisi, Sukla.*

[2] It is a pity that Ranga Pillai does not explain the reason of this secrecy.

The Governor wrote out a letter to be sent by Chandâ Sâhib to the Governor of Fort St. David, and gave it to Madanânda Pandit. I received the Persian translation when I was with Chandâ Sâhib, with a message that the Governor wished Chandâ Sâhib to write, seal and return it. I gave it to Chandâ Sâhib. He read it out to Razâ Sâhib and 'Alî Naqî Sâhib and said, 'This is a woman's letter, not a man's. It is not such as the ruler of this country should write. I will not write so.' Madanânda Pandit [ ].

Thursday, October 23.[1]—I went to the Fort this morning, spoke to the Second, and saw 29 bales of the Company's merchants' cloth examined and packed. Then taking leave of the Second, I went to the Governor and told him that, according to his orders of yesterday, I had obtained a parwâna to Auliya Sâhib, amaldâr of Poonamallee and Manimangalam, about the appointment of an amaldâr of Mylapore. So saying, I gave him the parwâna. He said, 'This is not the right time, but let it be kept, and we will do as appears best.' He then told M. Boyelleau what he had just heard, that Reinach, the Dutch fiscal at Masulipatam had written a Telugu letter saying, 'Give *Madame la Governante* a small *pasukkinâ*[2] with a painted cloth, with my compliments and my wife's. I hope I shall be excused for not having written by my man when I

[1] *11th Arppisi, Sukla*

[2] A child's cloth.

forwarded a packet of letters from Bengal, but I was in ill health. I am delighted that peace has been made between the English and the French.' Then he turned to me and said, 'Tell Chandâ Sâhib that the Viceroy of Goa will be very angry about the Mylapore Padre's affair.[1] I will write to him for a squadron of warships if Chandâ Sâhib will promise to bear the expense. Go and ask him about it.' I said I would speak to him this evening, and report his reply, and added, 'On October 20, the English with Malrâjâ and 300 men were at Mylapore. Padre Antony has been sent aboard ship—Rangappa Nâyakkan is at Triplicane with 30 soldiers. The Admiral's sailors will go to-morrow to Mylapore to hoist their flag. *Tôranams* have been tied, the streets watered, and the whole of Mylapore is decorated.' When I told him this, he desired me to repeat it to Chandâ Sâhib. He then asked if Chandâ Sâhib was not angry with the English over this. I replied, 'He is very angry at their having thus seized and ill-treated the Padre whom he appointed when he got the subah. But he says that as the Trichinopoly affair is very urgent, he must march there first, return after conquering the place, and then punish the English.' He agreed.

Yesterday he gave me the monthly account written in French and given in by M. Burel, the

[1] *I.e.*, the arrest of Father Antonio by Boscawen. Father Antonio had been appointed Procurator of the Portuguese at St. Thomé by the Viceroy of Goa, and Havildar of Mylapore by Chandâ Sâhib.

master-gunner, showing the expenditure on ammunition-coolies and bullocks, and said, 'The total is 3,270 rupees. Read this account to Chandâ Sâhib, tell him that he must settle this matter, even if it comes to a hundred rupees or so more. Come back and tell me what he says.' So yesterday I went to Chandâ Sâhib, read the account to him in the presence of 'Alî Naqî Sâhib and Razâ Sâhib, and told him what the Governor had said. He agreed and asked me to tell the Governor. This morning I returned the French account to the Governor and told him that Chandâ Sâhib had agreed. Thereupon he sent for M. Burel, gave him the account, and sent him away telling him that he could add some other items.' I called M. Burel and asked him to give me a copy of the account which he had given the Governor. He went away, saying in the Governor's presence that he would do so.

The Governor then called me and said, '*Tôranams* must be tied and flags hoisted in the 36 villages of the Bâhûr Jaghir the day of Chandâ Sâhib's departure; so have 36 flags ready.' I agreed, sent for Muchiya Nambulai, gave him white cloth, and told him to prepare 36 flags. Then I came home as it was past twelve.

Then Nawâb Chandâ Sâhib's people came and said that Chandâ Sâhib had complained of my not having been to see him to-day, and that he wanted to speak to me. I sent them away, saying, 'I have been with the Governor till now. This is dinner time

both for me and the Nawâb. It will be eight o'clock before he has finished his meal, rested, risen and said his prayers. I will then go and speak to him.'

As I am the renter of Achcharapâkkam and Tindivanam, I sent Gôvinda Pandit, Tiruvamudaiyâ Pillai, Padmâsi Pandit, Muttu Bôlam Reddi and Yajnam Pattar with forty of Shaikh Ibrâhîm's peons and fifty of mine, to tie *tôranams* there.

I went out at about three o'clock. Just then M. Dulaurens' peon came and said, 'M. Dulaurens died at about two o'clock. They have black cloth but his son-in-law has sent me to get ten pieces of white.' I sent him away with an order to the Company's godown for ten pieces of bleached cloth. I was busy to-night, so I did not go to Chandâ Sâhib, as I thought he would be troubled at not having yet received the money promised by the Governor. Moreover I thought I could not get a satisfactory answer unless I paid to-morrow part at least of the balance to be paid besides the 50,000 rupees paid the day before yesterday to Hâris Bêg Miyân Mas'ûd Khân by Nawâb Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân Sâhib's treasurer, Mansuk Râo. So I did not go to him to-night.

According to M. Cornet's orders, I received this afternoon four pieces of scarlet and two of green broad-cloth and two [rolls of ?] China paper, to be given to Miyân Mas'ûd Khân. The *Abeille*[1] set sail

[1] Ranga Pillai writes *lappel*; I suspect a mistake for *la Cybèle*.

for Europe to-day with 460 bales, with a lakh of rupees and a lakh of rupees' worth of Mahé fanams for Mahé. She will sail from Mahé after landing the money and taking in pepper for Europe.

Six lakhs of rupees were sent to Bengal to-day by ship.

M. de Vareilles, an artillery officer, who had been intriguing to take service with the English at Fort St. David, was sent for by the Governor to-day and ordered to accompany the troops that are going to Trichinopoly. He complained that his pay was not enough and said that he would not go unless he received 50 pagodas a month. The Governor grew so angry with him that he fled secretly to Fort St. David. When he heard this, the Governor ordered his goods to be sold.[1]

Friday, October 24.[2]—M. Dulaurens was buried in the church this morning; the Governor and other gentlemen went to his house and returned at nine o'clock. As M. Dulaurens had served for thirty or forty years, and was the first Councillor,[3]

[1] I am not aware when Vareilles joined the French service, but he was already in it in 1744. In 1751 he was given a commission as Captain by the Madras Council, in consideration of his abilities and services (Love's *Vestiges*, ii, p. 415). He died at Madras about 1793, having been pensioned off many years earlier. His will (*Madras Will Books*, 1793, f. 106) shows that he was born in 1710, but does not indicate his origin. As French officers were (like the English officers of this period) under no contract with the Company, they could quit the service at any time when not actually in the field, and take service with any nation not actually at war with France.

[2] *12th Arppisi, Sukla.*

[3] *I.e.*, held the position of the third in Council, his seniors being the Governor and the Second.

a detachment of soldiers, the Councillors and other European gentlemen with their wives, went with the Governor, and attended the funeral. The flag at the Fort was hoisted half-mast, and minute guns were fired while the corpse was being carried from the house to the church. After the burial was over, the soldiers fired three volleys and fifteen guns were fired at the Fort. Mr. Boscawen, the English Rear-Admiral, who was sailing with his squadron of eleven ships from Madras to Cuddalore, heard the sound of the guns fired for M. Dulaurens' death, when he was opposite the Pondichery roads, and, taking them to be a salute, ordered a salute of 15 guns to be fired in reply by the ships. So the Fort answered with 15 guns. The Governor who was passing along the Beach with the rest from M. Dulaurens' house, saw me and said, 'Mr. Boscawen mistook the guns for M. Dulaurens' death for a salute to himself and so honoured us with a salute. We have returned it.'

Then he called me nearer and said, 'Mr. Boscawen intended to go to Europe this month; but he seized the Mylapore Padre, plundered the place, and appointed his own man amaldâr. So he fears that, if he leaves with the squadron, Nawâb Chandâ Sâhib who has delayed his march till now, and Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân who is camping at Valudâvûr, will attack Cuddalore with all their forces and completely destroy the place. Mr. Boscawen has therefore postponed his journey to Europe and is going

to Cuddalore and Fort St. David.' I replied, 'That is true. I think the same;'' and added, 'The longer he delays, the better for him; for he vowed to capture Pondichery, attacked it, fought for two months, and spent 70 or 80 lakhs of pagodas, but could not take the place or scale the walls. Thus his face is blackened and he hesitates to present himself before the King of England for fear of what may happen to him. In his anxiety, he has taken advantage of this pretext for spending more time here and remaining at liberty, as though every day spent here were a day gained.' 'True,' he said.

He then complained that Chandâ Sâhib had not sent the draught-bullocks promised for the guns and ammunition. At that instant Chandâ Sâhib came and asked for his speedy despatch. The Governor replied, 'The delay is due to nothing but your not having sent draught-bullocks. The horsemen marched yesterday. The Europeans will march to-morrow. If bullocks are ready, they can be sent off at the same time and you can go the day after to-morrow. Can you march without powder and shot?' Chandâ Sâhib replied, 'That is not my meaning. Muzaffar Jang's people constantly worry me because you have not paid the whole sum you promised. I can march as soon as the payment is completed.' He replied, 'The Europe ships sailed last night; I will pay 9,000 rupees to-day and the rest to-morrow or the

day after. Ranga Pillai shall tell the mint-people to-day to pay 50,000 rupees to Muzaffar Jang's sowcar, Mansuk Râo. Please receive it. I have also told Ranga Pillai to take of the rupees that will be coined to-morrow or the day after enough to make up a lakh of rupees in all and pay it to you. You need not speak about it again. He will pay it himself.' Accordingly I went to the mint and returned after ordering 50,000 rupees to be paid to Muzaffar Jang's sowcar, Mansuk Râo. After this matter had been settled, the Governor asked Chandâ Sâhib to write a Persian letter to the Viceroy of Goa in the terms he had told me to report to Chandâ Sâhib yesterday :—'Although the greatness of the Portuguese has long vanished from these parts, it will not be well for their name to be lost completely. In order to make their name shine here, we appointed Padre Antonio, a Portuguese, amaldâr of Mylapore and conferred on him a name by which to give orders. But the English were jealous of Portuguese prosperity near their city. So Mr. Boscawen sent soldiers and peons to seize the Padre; they wounded four or five persons with him, plundered Mylapore, destroyed its beauty, captured the Padre and sent him on board ship. I cannot endure that the English should thus dishonour the Portuguese, and so I write to you. If you send ships of war, soldiers and ammunition to attack Madras, Cuddalore and Fort St. David, I will march with my forces, fight with them and punish them

Please regard the letters which M. Dupleix, the General of Pondichery, writes to you about this at my request as my own and act as the letters require.' M. Dupleix further said, 'If you write thus, I will also write a similar letter in French; and if these are sent, the Viceroy of Goa will send 1,000 soldiers and ammunition in proportion. Should they come by sea, they could arrive only in June or July; so I will write to him in detail that they should march hither overland by Mahé. Moreover our armies, with the help of these 1,000 soldiers and munitions, can overthrow Nâsîr Jang with ease, for his people will be struck with terror.'—'True,' Chandâ Sâhib said, 'if you will write this letter and send it me, I will copy, seal and despatch it.' The Governor said that he would write a rough copy and send it.

He then asked if no reply was to be sent about Muzaffar Jang's parwâna received from the Pâdshâh. Chandâ Sâhib replied that a reply should be written saying that the French had helped them in all possible ways, defeated Anwar-ud-dîn Khân, put them in possession of the Carnatic, and were helping them in all possible ways to conquer Nâsîr Jang, but that the English [were helping] Nâsîr Jang who was disobeying his orders, and Anwar-ud-dîn Khân's son, Muhammad 'Alî Khân, who was being helped by Nâsîr Jang and was in the fort of Trichinopoly.

Mahârâja Râja Srî the Governor has ordered it to be proclaimed by beat of tom-tom that Muzaffar

Khân's sepoys who have drawn their pay, the sepoys of the four guards and the horsemen, are to exchange their damaged muskets[1] for new ones before this evening, march beyond the Bound-hedge and camp at Arumpâtai Pillai's Choultry, and that, if they are found in the town to-morrow, they shall receive 100 stripes at the Choultry whipping-post and be fined.

Tuesday, October 28.[2]—I went to the Governor's this morning. As Nawâb Chandâ Sâhib is to set out at eight o'clock to-night, I went to his lodging, got all the Company's documents sealed by him, talked about the Kârikâl and other affairs, and then came home for food.

When Chingleput Sêshâdri Pillai visited Chandâ Sâhib to-day, the latter received him with great respect, rising and embracing him. Sêshâdri Pillai gave a nazar of 21 rupees. He then visited Sâhibzâda and 'Alî Naqî (the Naib faujdar) with a present of 21 rupees each. Then parwânas were written and sealed for all the accounts. Sêshâdri Pillai was then given *pân supârî* and dismissed.

At eight o'clock to-night Nawâb Chandâ Sâhib went to the Governor's to take leave. He and the Governor exchanged compliments. Chandâ Sâhib was given rosewater and *pân supârî* and he took leave.

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[1] Literally, bayonet-guns.

[2] *16th Arppisi, Sukla.*

Miyân Mas'ûd was given the following presents :–

Scarlet broad-cloth	4 pieces.
Green broad-cloth	2 pieces.
Rosewater	2 chests.
Small knives	2
Scissors	2 pairs.

When he had received these presents and been dismissed, 21 guns were fired at the Fort. The Nawâb and others took their leave, went to their respective lodgings, set out, and halted at the tent pitched near the Villiyanallûr gate, whereon 21 guns were fired from all the Fort batteries.

NOVEMBER 1749.

Saturday, November 1.[1]—When I went to the Governor this morning, he ordered me to hoist flags in the 36 villages of the Bâhûr jaghir and added, 'I shall appoint head-peon Savarimuttu poligar of the 45 Villiyanallûr villages and the 36 Bâhûr villages—81 villages in all. Let him appoint two peons for each village, of whom one will be paid by the Company and the other by himself. If these peons should find any soldiers,[2] they must bring them in here with the help of the peons of the neighbouring villages. Moreover if English soldiers or peons from Fort St. David or Madras come to seize people by stealth, they must be stopped and expelled, and the matter reported.' When the Governor thus ordered me to hoist flags and manage the Bâhûr villages, I replied, 'I have many other duties, so let writer Ranga Pillai manage this.' He answered, 'Why hesitate? You can manage it yourself.' I repeated that writer Ranga Pillai had better manage it, as the headmen of Villiyanallûr and Bâhûr were friends. So he sent for writer Ranga Pillai and asked him if that were so. He said, 'Yes.' Thereupon he ordered him to manage the Bâhûr country. He agreed and went away. As the Governor ordered flags to be hoisted there before

[1] *20th Arppisi, Sukla.*
[2] *i.e.*, French soldiers deserting.

sunrise to-morrow, I gave the flags to Savarimuttu with orders to hoist them without delay.

Immediately after this, the Governor sent for the Second and said, 'Please visit Villiyanallûr every Saturday, hear all causes, and punish the guilty.'[1] He said he would do so, and went away.

Lakshmana Nâyakkan, Mutturâma Chetti, Singanna Chetti, Venkatâchala Chetti and others came to see the Governor. He asked me why they had not accompanied the camp. I said, 'They are quite ready; but they say that, if they could collect their debts, they would keep a quarter for their own use and pay the rest to their creditors.' Singanna Chetti said, 'If 20,000 pagodas were got in, 5,000 pagodas kept for our expenses, and only the balance paid our creditors, when would the debt be discharged? All that can be collected should be paid to our creditors and the partners should take none of it.' I told the Governor, and he said, 'What Singanna Chetti says is right. They should do that.'

Sunday, November 2.[2]— In spite of heavy rain this morning, I went to the nut-godown and thence to the Governor. He told me to go home as it was so wet. I went to the nut-godown, stayed there till twelve o'clock and came home in the rain. It abated a little in the afternoon, but rained again

[1] The Second of Pondichery was *ex-officio* Chief Judge in the Choultry Court.

[2] *21st Arppisi, Sukla.*

from sunset till midnight, like water pouring out of a vessel. About one it diminished and only drizzled from three to sunrise.

They say that Chandâ Sâhib's and Muzaffar Jang's armies and our detachment of Europeans who are camping at Tûkkanâmpâkkam will suffer much, as the rain will hinder their march. Chandâ Sâhib quitted them when they were halting on the Valudâvûr river, and marched this side, expecting the English to give him a lakh, or ten to fifteen thousand rupees at least, for the grant of certain territories, and hoping to get something by catching Kâsi Dâs Bukkanji and making terms with him. I do not think he will succeed in either. He may get a present of four or five thousand, but that is nothing, and he will not get what he wants—he will only waste his strength to no purpose. If the Governor knew this, I think he would recall our detachment at once. I have said nothing because he would not believe me and because he has told me that I need not report the Fort St. David news or send people there.

Tuesday, November 4[1].—According to the Governor's order of October 8, for Sunguvâr and Muhammad Khân Sulaimân to take possession of the nine villages on November 10, I [took] a copy of the letter sent to Villupuram and sent Narasanna Pandit, Muhammad Khân Sulaimân's vakîl, with

[1] *23rd Arppisi, Sukla.*

peons Kandappan and Parasurâman, fixing their monthly pay at 6 rupees and 4½ rupees respectively.

I went to the Governor this morning, and said, 'Last night you ordered an answer to be written to Zain-ud 'Alî Khân's complaint that the Bâhûr jaghir, which formerly belonged to him, had been otherwise disposed of and desiring that your friendship should continue and that Husain Dôst Khân Sâhib should befriend him. According to your order I have written that they who gave the jaghir are answerable for it, and that your friendship would continue.' When I said that such an answer had been written and sealed, he ordered me to send it to the vakîl at the camp by the messenger who had brought the letter. Madanânda Pandit took it, saying that he would give it to the peon.

He then told me to write to Nawâb Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân with compliments that he was grieved that the march of the troops had been delayed by the rains, and that he prayed God to hasten his march in great joy. When I had written that, he told me to write to Chandâ Sâhib about settling the old affair of Muzaffar Khân's sepoys. I wrote accordingly. He then asked me to write a reply to Muzaffar Khân as follows:—'I have written to Chandâ Sâhib to settle your affair. He will pay you as soon as he receives money. As you have now received a month's pay, your sepoys and horsemen should be ready to march. I will not forgive you if they are not.' I wrote this and sent

it by Muzaffar Jang's harkara along with the letters for Chandâ Sâhib and Muzaffar Jang and some Europeans' letters for the army. I have heard no other news worth writing.

Chandâ Sâhib camped near Fort St. David, hoping to be able to raise money on the mortgage of some countries. But when 'Alî Naqî Sâhib and Dîwân Raghunâtha Râo were sent twice or thrice to collect what Kâsi Dâs Bukkanji Davai owed Safdar 'Alî Khân, they were not even allowed to enter the Fort St. David limits. Kâsi Dâs Bukkanji said that, if Safdar 'Alî Khân's accounts were produced, he would settle them and pay what was owing. They replied, 'There is a bond of yours for 11 lakhs of rupees. You also owe for the jewels you received from 'Alî Dôst Khân's wife and for the laced cloths you bought. Moreover there is the matter of the rents paid to Mîr Asad. We will give a receipt if you will pay something on account of these transactions and we can settle the accounts afterwards.' He replied gravely, 'The money must have been paid at the time; but if you bring the accounts I will settle them.' He said this because Mîr Asad was Safdar 'Alî Khân's Dîwân and exercised all power. He kept all the accounts and managed everything. At that time Chandâ Sâhib and Safdar 'Alî Khân were enemies, while Taqî Sâhib and his other relations were on ill terms with him [Mîr Asad]. So Mîr Asad alone kept the accounts and knew all the secret

money affairs. When Safdar 'Alî Khân was suddenly murdered, Mîr Asad's enmity with these persons increased a hundredfold. I do not know what took place between Mîr Asad and Kâsi Dâs Bukkanji, for care was taken to keep the accounts secret; but when Kâsi Dâs Bukkanji asked for the accounts, they blinked because they had none, had exercised no authority in those days, and knew nothing of the money transactions. So they blinked and said nothing. The bond for 11 lakhs of rupees had been deposited in Safdar 'Alî Khân's private treasury[1] and he had given it to his wife. Chandâ Sâhib got it by means of 'Alî Naqî Sâhib, and now demands the money on behalf of Badr-ud-dîn Husain Khân. I do not know what secret influence Mîr Asad has in connection with this transaction; but perhaps that is why Kâsi Dâs Bukkanji demands the accounts before he will settle anything. They are on the English side, and have bought their protection in order to escape being plundered. Moreover Raghunâtha Râo has already been dishonoured three or four times when he went there; so, instead of trying other means, they went thither with an army, thinking that he might be frightened into paying part at least. But the result is that not only has Kâsi Dâs Bukkanji lost all fear, but also they themselves have taken fright and marched off bootlessly towards Tanjore. Even if

[1] Reading *Kajâna* for *Kâsâ*.

they could not succeed, they should have tried every means in their power before marching away. But having heard his answer, and knowing that the English were their enemies, they marched away because, as the proverb says, Muhammadans care little what they spend or suffer. Otherwise they would have remained. I do not know what their intentions are.

Wednesday, November 5.[1]—I went to the Governor this morning and said, 'Yesterday I reported the contents of the letter brought by Jayarâm Pandit. He says that letters should be written to Sâhu Râjâ, Raghôji Bhônsla, Fatteh Singh and Kônêri Pandit at Satâra and that he himself should be sent to their camp.' He said that he would do so and told me to send for Jayarâm Pandit. He came with Râghava Pandit, Chandâ Sâhib's gumastah. The Governor who was in the great hall, made them sit on chairs that were placed for them, and enquired after Chandâ Sâhib's health. 'By your favour,' said Jayarâm Pandit, 'he is well,' and added, 'I gave you Sâhu Râjâ's letter with a dress of honour, *turra* and breast ornament. Please reply that according to his desire, you have slain Anwar-ud-dîn Khân, taken his whole army and made Nawâb Chandâ Sâhib Subahdar of Arcot, that Nawâb Nâsîr Jang's supplies of food should be cut off, that everything should be settled, that you will urge

[1] *24th Arppisi, Sukla.*

Chandâ Sâhib to fulfil his promises to Sâhu Râjâ.' When he said that such a letter should be written with compliments and given to him, the Governor turned to me and said, 'Write such a letter in Jayarâm Pandit's presence, add any other details he may desire, seal and give it to him.' I agreed.

Jayarâm Pandit also desired similar letters to be written to Raghôji Bhônsla, Fatteh Singh and Kônêri Pandit, saying that the enemy had been defeated and Chandâ Sâhib installed as Nawâb, by reason of the Marathas' efforts and assistance, and that the latter should maintain him in his position, and hinder his enemies from attacking him. The Governor told me to write such letters to these three persons.

Jayarâm Pandit then said, 'I hear that Nawâb Muzaffar Jang has quarrelled with Chandâ Sâhib about money matters, and says he will return to Adoni. Chandâ Sâhib has settled the matter by promising to pay him two lakhs in ready money and to put him in possession of Nellore, Sarvêpalle and other countries worth ten lakhs of rupees. Thus the camp affairs have been settled. One lakh of rupees has been paid and the other lakh is to be paid in eight days. This has been ratified with an oath, and Muzaffar Jang has promised to demand no more money for four months.' The Governor replied, 'Nawâb Muzaffar Jang is still a boy, and has no able minister with him. It was his fault that

Chêtpattu which yields ten or twelve lakhs was lost. How can he hope for money if he behaves so?' When the Governor spoke about this at length, Jayarâm Pandit added that Muzaffar Jang had taken an oath and said, 'Let bygones be bygones. Henceforth I will interfere in nothing.' The Governor said, 'Muhammadans are just like that. They make excuses for their mistakes, but never learn self-control. This business will never turn out well, and it has been managed so badly that they themselves are now in difficulties for money. And now he complains about our promises.' Jayarâm Pandit replied, 'Your words are true. Moreover Imâm Sâhib owed 'Alî Dôst Khân 9,800 gold mohurs and 20,000 Madras pagodas. I have shown you his bond. It would be well in the present crisis to recover this sum—I have been charged to tell you so.' Thereupon the Governor turned to Râghava Pandit, and said, 'Show me the bond you have.' Having looked at it, the Governor said to Jayarâm Pandit, 'I believe you know Persian. Read this bond and tell me whose it is.' He took the bond, read it and gave as its meaning, 'I have the custody of 9,800 gold mohurs and 20,000 Madras pagodas belonging to the Nawâb who was killed in battle and repayable to the Sarkar on demand.' The Governor asked who had signed it. He replied, 'It does not say who wrote it. It is in the usual form, and only needs a signature or seal to become obligatory. As it is neither

sealed nor signed, I cannot say whose it is. It belongs to any one or no one.' The Governor continued, 'Can I give you a stranger's money that I happen to possess on the strength of such a document? However much I am your friend, I must act justly, and not otherwise.' Jayarâm Pandit and Râghava Pandit said, 'What you say is true. You must indeed do justice, and it would be unjust to deliver up money entrusted to you by reason of your reputation.' The Governor replied, 'However, I will write to Imâm Sâhib's son, see what he answers and tell you.' He told me to write to Imâm Sâhib's son, saying that Chandâ Sâhib had petitioned the Council, to the effect that Imâm Sâhib owed him a lakh of pagodas with interest, and ask what he had to say. I said I would do so.

He then asked me what present should be given to Jayarâm Pandit. I said at least 100 pagodas. He told me to write an order on M. Cornet, for five pieces of scarlet and four yards of two-coloured broadcloth. When he had signed it, I sent it to the Fort by a peon, got the present, gave it to Jayarâm Pandit, and then went to the nut-godown. I asked Madanânda Pandit to prepare letters for Sâhu Râjâ and the others.

I and Jayarâm Pandit went to my writing-room, and, as we sat there, I questioned him about the camp and Nâsîr Jang. He said, 'We have certain news that Nâsîr Jang has marched 20 or 30 kos this side of Aurangabad, and is halting on the

bank of the Godaveri, intending to cross it with his army. Moreover he has written to the subahdars of Cuddapah and Kandanûr to seize the fort of Adoni and Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân's country. As soon as Muzaffar Jang received a letter from the Naib of Adoni fort saying that the two subahdars had collected their forces and were marching to capture the fort and country of Adoni, he got frightened, ordered his troops to get ready to march to Adoni, went to Chandâ Sâhib and, showing him the Adoni letter, said that he must go to Nâsîr Jang and settle his affairs somehow; he added that, as Chandâ Sâhib had got the subah with European help, he could manage alone and that therefore he could go. Chandâ Sâhib replied, "You must not do that. It will take four months for Nâsîr Jang to get here. Meanwhile we should keep together, increase our army, destroy the enemy, and conquer as far as Aurangabad. However a man hides himself, God's purpose will be accomplished. We ought to have considered well and not have undertaken this affair; but having undertaken it, I cannot say what will happen if we listen to our fears and go several ways, so that one cannot assist the other." When Chandâ Sâhib had thus explained all things to Muzaffar Jang, the Qurân was brought, and they swore to stand or fall together. Chandâ Sâhib thereupon agreed to give him the Nellore and Sarvêpalle pargannahs worth ten lakhs of rupees, and to pay him two lakhs in ready money. In

return Muzaffar Jang promised to demand no more money for four months. Letters have been written to Cuddapah and Kandanûr and to Sâhu Râjâ and others at Satâra. Please don't tell the Governor all this. It has all arisen out of the money matter. I will visit you to-night.' So saying, he took leave.

I then wrote to Imâm Sâhib's son and gave it to Pîr Muhammad's man, a Muhammadan (whose name I do not know), to be taken to Tyâgar to-morrow morning.

The Governor then sent for me, gave me a rosary of 64 coral beads and some branch-coral, the price of which has been settled, and said, 'These were sent by a European from Europe to be sold and the returns to be made in cloth. So sell them.' So saying, he gave them to me in a small box five or six fingers square. He said, 'I am going to Mortândi Choultry this afternoon. Tell Madanânda Pandit to be there.' I said I would do so.

He then told me to hasten the supply of cloth by the Company's merchants, and to pay his writer the money received from those villages the accounts of which had been settled. I said I would do so at once. Then I went to the nut-godown.

Madanânda Pandit said this afternoon that the four letters for Satâra were ready. I said, 'We will get them sealed to-morrow and go to the Governor the next day with Jayarâm Pandit.'

At four o'clock the Governor and his wife set out for Mortândi Choultry.

Friday, November 7.[1]—I received Subbayyan's letter this morning on my way to Mortândi Choultry. It says:—'When they were camping by the choultry built by Vaithi Reddi's wife on the bank of the Pennâr this side of Tiruviti, at midnight, a Muhammadan entered Chandâ Sâhib's encampment with a drawn sword hidden in his gown, and was found near Chandâ Sâhib's tent, by servants going out to answer the calls of nature. They asked who he was. He said he belonged to those parts. They asked what he was doing there at such a time of night; and searching him they found his drawn sword. He was seized with the sword, but to all their questions he answered as before; so he was tied up for the night. In the morning they sent for M. Duquesne, told him that he refused to reveal anything for all their enquiries, and that they had found him with his sword drawn. They delivered him to M. Duquesne to be severely examined, so that he might confess who he was. He sent for Coffrees and told them to question him strictly. As he still refused to confess, he was hanged near the choultry. I hear that he was sent by Mahfuz Khân to kill Chandâ Sâhib, who escaped as he is destined to fulfil his days. Others say that Muhammad 'Alî Khân sent him from Trichinopoly with two others, that two of them escaped as they were destined to survive, and that the third was caught and killed.'

[1] *25th Arppisi, Sukla.*

When I saw the Governor, he said that a letter had come from M. Duquesne last night, saying, 'Of the three persons sent by Mahfuz Khân to murder Chandâ Sâhib, two escaped. The third was found at midnight with a drawn sword at the entrance of Chandâ Sâhib's encampment. He was seized and delivered to me. I handed him over to some Coffrees who questioned him by force. He confessed that he and the others had been sent by Mahfuz Khân to kill Chandâ Sâhib, that he had entered the encampment, while the other two remained outside and had run away on hearing the noise of his capture. Thereupon he has been hanged.' The Governor told me to write to Chandâ Sâhib as follows :—'I am rejoiced to hear the news. Henceforth be cautious. As you have God's favour, those who wish you ill will be destroyed. Be careful in your dealings with your enemy, Mahfuz Khân. Don't leave him at liberty, but see that he is in safe keeping. I have also written about this to Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân.' He told me to write another letter to Nawâb Muzaffar Jang as follows :—'Don't let your enemies crawl like a snake under your pillow, else they will treat you as they have tried to treat Chandâ Sâhib. A man should not let a snake lie by his head and say "What is to be will be." You trust him too much; no enemy should be trusted. Nor should you think he is too weak to hurt you; that is a mistake. Keep him shut up in a fort.'

He told me to write these letters and have them despatched at once. I wrote them accordingly, sealed and gave them to head-peon Sàntappan to be sent to Chandâ Sâhib and Muzaffar Jang.

Singakkôyil, Kilinjikuppam, Siruvalûr, Brahmmai and other villages out of the nine villages in Nawâb Barâward Khân's[1] jaghir were assigned to Sunguvâr and Muhammad Khân Sulaimân Khân by reason of an agreement made among themselves; but the assignment was cancelled and the villages reverted to the owner. So they addressed Chandâ Sâhib by the intervention of the Governor, praying to be allowed to take possession of the villages on account of what was owed them. He permitted them to do so. Muhammad Khân Sulaimân and Sungu [vâr] who have come here, Mutturâma Chetti, and Lakshmana Râo who owned a half-share amongst them, agreed with the other side to pay one-fourth of the net revenue. As Narasanna Pandit, Sulaimân Khân's vakîl, came to-day with the agreement which they had entered into, I went with him to the Governor, gave him the agreement, and said that they desired orders to take possession of the villages. He took the agreement and dismissed Narasanna Pandit with leave to take possession.

Sungu Sêshâchala Chetti, Mutturâma Chetti, Lakshmana Râo and other partners came and said, 'We came to an agreement so that all the

[1] Unidentified. Ranga Pillai writes *Paravaraththukân.*

shareholders may act alike. Before we approached you, Lakshmana Râo, Mutturâma Chetti and other partners agreed that all should sign; but Sungu Sêshâchalam will not agree to the terms of the agreement that each must bear his own expenses at Pondichery, but that common expenses should be shared alike, and he says he will only agree and sign if each man's expenses on account of Pondichery are shared in common.' When they thus disputed in the Governor's presence, he dismissed them saying that they should return when they had come to an agreement.

He told me M. Duquesne had written, reporting that Razâ Sâhib had marched with a mortar and 1,000 horsemen to capture the forts of Vâlikondai and Ranjangudi. He said much about it, and then, when it was past twelve, he allowed me to return to Pondichery. I reached home at one o'clock.

Saturday, November 8.[1]—The Governor sent for me this morning, so I went to him. He gave me a copy of the letter written by Coja Namat-ul-lah Khân[2] to M. Coquet, a letter from Coja Namat-ul-lah Khân's munshi, Mirzâ Muhib 'Alî with the details of his coming, and a copy of the Pâdshâh's parwâna granting to Nâsîr Jang the six subahs of the Deccan after his father's death to be enjoyed

[1] *27th Arppisi, Sukla.*

[2] At this time Nawâb of Rajahmundry. He was son of Coja 'Abd-ul-lah who for a short time in 1743 administered the Carnatic on behalf of Nizâm-ul-mulk, and whose sudden death led to the appointment of Anwâr-ud-dîn.

by him as before. These three were in Persian and were received yesterday from M. Coquet at Masulipatam. The contents of each was written in French on the back. He also wrote a letter with the news of that place. The Governor gave me the three Persian letters and told me to interpret them. I gave them to Madanânda Pandit and reported to the Governor their contents, as they were read out. When he had listened to this, I said that, in order to have our friendship and alliance, he had written as follows:—' Pondichery is but a small fort, that will hold only two or three thousand people. If our whole army were to attack it, the Fort and the people would be reduced to ashes. Nâsîr Jang can make mountains crumble. You must therefore deal cunningly with him. You have as ally Chandâ Sâhib, an ignorant fellow, who was in my house. Though this man is as a robber, you helped him, and routed the subahdar because he had only a small army. Should you have done this? Should you not have acted with thought for the future? You have come here only to trade, not to plunder or conquer territories. Your trade must pass through my country; but how can your affairs go on if I hinder them? How long can you go on spending money like this and continue here? When Nawâb Coja 'Abd-ul-lah Khân, my father, was subahdar of the Carnatic, we did nothing but good to you. I will do the same in future; so, if you wish to prosper, join, not Chandâ Sâhib, but Nâsîr

Jang and obey his orders. If you do so, he will give you the same territories as they have or enter into the same agreement as they have. I will do even more.'

The Governor said, 'Why does he write about such matters thus? Why don't they write instead that I must take their side? Why do they express fear and good-will at the same instant?' I replied, 'They are masters of the country, so they never write submissively. But notice his words—he will do as we wish if we take his side.'—'Well,' he said, 'I will send a copy of this letter to Chandâ Sâhib and reply to this when I hear from him.'

He then asked what Coja Namat-ul-lah Khân had written to M. Coquet. I replied that he had written as follows:—'To the French warehouse-keeper at Masulipatam. I have written to your master at Pondichery about what should be done; and I have sent Munshi Mirzâ Muhib 'Alî with another letter to explain in person. If you act according to the plan he will inform you of, you will live in peace. I write to you wishing you happiness and remembering our former friendship.' I said that the letter was in the munshi's handwriting and that Coja Namat-ul-lah Khân had added in his own hand that, if we acted as he wrote, we should live at peace and that he wrote thus, wishing our happiness.

He then asked what the other paper was. I said that it was a copy of the Pâdshâh's parwâna

confirming the grant of the six subahs of the Deccan to Nâsîr Jang. He asked me what it said. I said that it ran as follows:—'After the death of your father, Âsaf Jâh, you wrote to me requesting the grant of the Deccan subahs. As I have ever regarded with favour my servants in the Deccan, I graciously received your petition and commanded the six subahs of the Deccan to be given to you, the chief of my servants. All killedars, jaghirdars, mansabdars and other people of the country shall obey your orders. Treat with justice the cultivators, the merchants (both those dwelling there and those from other countries) and the rest of the inhabitants. Do not oppress the poor, but punish those who plunder them. Let each attend to his own affairs, and let the country be ruled with justice.' I said that this parwâna was written and signed in the customary form. He told me to take copies of the three letters, and send them to Chandâ Sâhib together with a letter desiring him to read the letter to the Frenchman at Masulipatam from Namat-ul-lah Khân. I took copies accordingly, wrote a letter to Chandâ Sâhib, folded them up together, sealed them, and gave them to head-peon Sântappan to be sent off. I gave the Governor the three letters received from Masulipatam and taking my leave of him, came home at half-past eight.

Monday, November 10.[1]—I did not go to the Governor to-day but stayed in town and discussed

[1] *29th Arppisi, Sukla.*

several matters with the Company's merchants till ten o'clock at night.

The dispute between Sungu Sêshâchala Chetti, Lakshmana Nâyakkan, Mutturâma Chetti and others has been settled by Satâra Jayarâm Pandit and Chandâ Sâhib's Raghunâtha Râo; the agreement with the Governor was written out to the satisfaction of both parties; and they signed it, declaring themselves satisfied and promising to live in peace. They gave each other *pân supârî* and received it joyfully from me. The arbitrators and witnesses also signed, and all took leave. The agreement is written below in Telugu [ ].

Wednesday, November 12.[1]—I went this morning to Mortândi Choultry and reported the contents of the letter received yesterday from Imâm Sâhib's son, Hasan 'Alî Khân. After compliments, it says, 'Your former letter and the Persian letter written to Chandâ Sâhib have been received. I sent the letter of recommendation to Nawâb Chandâ Sâhib with a letter of my own to be delivered to him by suitable great men. I have paid 10,000 rupees out of the 20,000 rupees agreed on for my jaghir and fort, as was done with the other killedars. They are urging me to pay the balance of 10,000 rupees. Please write to Taqî Sâhib, Chandâ Sâhib and his son Razâ Sâhib to wait ten days for the balance. Please send me four pieces of red broad-cloth. As

[1] *1st Kârttigai, Sukla.*

the marriage of Imâm Sâhib's daughter is to be celebrated next month, assist me with money for that purpose. You know that my property is with you and no one else. So be pleased to send money for the expenses. You are to me as my father Imâm Sâhib.' When I reported this, he said, 'Has he no money? Why should I give him any?' I was silent, so he continued, 'Imâm Sâhib spent much money in connection with the complaints made by Safdar 'Alî Khân and others when he fled to the Nizâm. Moreover he lost by the Masulipatam, etc., lease. He brought the Nizâm into the Carnatic, by raising false hopes; but all his promises proved vain, though he had given large sums of money to many great men to induce the Nizâm and Nâsîr Jang to listen to him. So he spent all his money except what he left with us. He agreed to give over this money to his son Hasan 'Alî Khân and his daughter Qâdiria, and obtained a bond signed by the Council in their names.' I said, 'When the money was deposited here in the time of M. Lenoir, he declared that the money belonged to his son and daughter and took a bond for it from the Council. You have told me a dozen times about it.' The Governor replied, 'A man only knows what he himself has done. He deposited the money here thinking that, if it were in his name, it might be claimed, and, if he spent it, his family would suffer, but that they might live on the interest without spending the

capital.' He did not say what reply should be written, but told me to write that whatever was collected in the mortgaged villages should be sent, one or two hundred at a time, as it came in. I replied, 'I have already done so. Throughout the country, headmen and cultivators were afraid to remain in any one place and were running hither and thither for fear of Anwar-ud-dîn Khân and Chandâ Sâhib's coming. Scarce half the country was cultivated, for fear the cavalry should trample down the standing crops. The march of the troops and armed guards destroyed the cultivated fields. But the country mortgaged to us was near Pondichery. When the great men came here, their army consisting of 20,000 horse, 200,000 bullocks and a corresponding number of men camped at Valudâvûr for 36 days, and plundered the growing crops, the inhabitants and their houses. They cut the crops to feed their cattle and horses, removed the roofs of the houses, and left nothing but the walls. Moreover they ravished the women, and carried them away. In Chennamanâyakkanpâlaiyam, Tiruviti and those parts, nine or ten men would ravish one woman, whereby a score of women perished. As the troops marched this way, everything was completely destroyed The inhabitants have thus been left helpless, and cannot even grow *navarai*,[1] for they have neither bullocks,

[1] An inferior kind of paddy, resembling *kâr*, grown in the country round Pondichery.

ploughs nor other implements. So no money can be had.'—'True,' he said; 'in spite of all our precautions about the Villiyanallûr villages, they took no heed and plundered and destroyed them; so need we doubt what they did elsewhere?'

I said, 'Muttu Mallâ Reddi's man hid in a Brâhman's house goods belonging to Dêvarâya Pillai's women. Our people, hearing of this, went there with four arbitrators, and sent, with a list, gold jewels weighing 200 pagodas (including the lac and string) and silver jewels of the same weight. I have got them here. Moreover they collected all the grain, bullocks and cows they could find. They will send the grain here and pay in the value as soon as it is sold. What little money can be collected in Achcharapâkkam, Tiruviti and Bhuvanagiri will be paid in. But money will come in from all quarters after January.' He agreed and told me to pay whatever I had received—100 or 200 rupees. I said I had written accordingly, would pay in what was received, and to-morrow would give his writer, Ranga Pillai, the 400 rupees received from Villupuram. He told me to do so and asked about the Udaiyârpâlaiyam affair.[1] I replied, 'When he was two stages south of Fort St.

[1] Chandâ Sâhib's first operation after leaving Pondichery was directed against this place, which formed the capital of a considerable poligar. After being besieged about a month, the poligar paid Chanda Sâhib three lakhs of rupees. *Pub. Des. to Eng.*, February 12, 1750.

David, they[1] gave 'Alî Naqî Sâhib a bond for 25,000 Porto Novo pagodas in payment of the lakh of rupees agreed upon. He agreed to take this; but when it was reported to Nawâb Chandâ Sâhib, he said that he would not let them off for less than a lakh of pagodas because they had paid the amount agreed upon only when he had reached two stages and that he had resolved to attack Udaiyârpâlaiyam on his march.' When I reported that the Vakîl had written thus, he told me I might go home. On my way, a horseman and two sepoys of Muzaffar Khân's told me that they had come from the camp near Vriddhachalam with letters for the Governor.

The Governor returned at four o'clock this afternoon. I went to the fort as a peon came at three o'clock and told me the Governor would arrive at four and wished to see me on his arrival. When he came, he told me that M. Duquesne had written that the poligars would not visit Chandâ Sâhib in consequence of Râyappa Râjâ's imprisonment and that therefore Chandâ Sâhib had asked him to procure his release. He asked who Râyappa Râjâ was. I said, ''Abd-ul-rahmân brought Râyappan, a cooly fellow, and promised to obtain for him Bommarâjapâlaiyam. He procured presents for him when Chandâ Sâhib was here, seated him on an elephant, led him round the town, and then conducted

[1] The people of Udaiyârpâlaiyam. The bond subsequently mentioned was probably a sowcar's bond.

him out. You heard of this when you were at Muzaffar Jang's lodgings, and you sent for me and asked if it was true. I said it was; and thereupon you ordered him to be imprisoned. I did not imprison him at once, but waited some time to watch him. But when he chanced to get drunk in a dancing-girl's house, and at one o'clock at night the talaiyâris found him naked, struggling with an out-caste woman, they asked him how he could run drunkenly about the streets at night, and disturb the town with his brawls, whereon he beat them. They then complained to the Nayinâr. As the Nayinâr lived near, he went and asked him how he could behave so at night; but he smote him on the forehead with a stick which was in his hand, till the blood flowed. The Nayînar told the talaiyâris to tie his hands behind him and shut him up for the night in the Choultry. In the morning they reported this to me, and you ordered him to be imprisoned. So he was imprisoned for his offence. He deserves not to be released, but to be kept in the Choultry. As soon as I had reported this to you, Muzaffar Khân begged me to release him. But I told him plainly that that must be settled by you. When I was talking with Nawâb Chandâ Sâhib, Muzaffar Khân asked him to tell me to release Râyappa Râjâ, but Chandâ Sâhib replied that it had nothing to do with him. When next day, you imprisoned Muzaffar Khân, there was no more talk about it.' When I related the story from beginning to end, the Governor replied,

''Abd-ul-rahmân must have asked Chandâ Sâhib to speak to M. Duquesne about this. If Chandâ Sâhib had really cared, he would have mentioned it in his letters to me. Perhaps 'Abd-ul-rahmân worried M. Duquesne into speaking to Chandâ Sâhib; M. Duquesne may have mentioned this to Chandâ Sâhib in the course of conversation. 'Abd-ul-rahmân must have told all the details to M. Duquesne and asked him to write about it.' I agreed with him hesitatingly. Thereupon the Governor said angrily, 'What can this dog do? Don't mention him to me again. 'Abd-ul-rahmân is at the bottom of all this. I will write to them not to refer to the subject again.' I said that would be well.

He then asked where Chandâ Sâhib was. I replied, 'When he marched towards Udaiyârpâlaiyam, they delayed for ten days the payment of the lakh of rupees they had promised, having received news about the preparation of troops in the north.[1] But as soon as Chandâ Sâhib's troops marched southwards, they went and offered to pay, as promised, a lakh of rupees to him, 10,000 rupees to Sâhib Dâud, 10,000 and odd rupees to 'Alî Naqî Sâhib and 5,000 rupees towards Raghunâtha Râo's expenses. He agreed but after showing the bill of exchange to Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân's sowcar, returned it by the sowcar, demanding two lakhs of pagodas, and advanced to attack Udaiyârpâlaiyam.

[1] *I.e.* by Nâsîr Jang.

When he neared the bounds, he sent for Sella Kanakarâya Pillai, the Udaiyâr's duffadar. This news has been received.' We then talked about trivial matters.

He then said, 'Mr. Floyer and others at Fort St. David seized the padre of Mylapore, pulled down the Portuguese flag and hoisted the English flag instead. Mr. Boscawen, the Rear Admiral, is to be blamed for these unjust deeds. Mylapore is in the Nawâb's country; and I do not know what will happen. I hear that the people here[1] have written to Europe that it was done without their knowledge and are shirking the responsibility.' I replied, 'In 1733, Mr. Pitt, the Governor of Madras, [seized] the goods brought to Porto Novo by Mr. Barrington under the flag of the King of Sweden.'[2] [ ]

Thursday, November 13.[3]—When I went to M. Guillard this morning, he said that he had sent for me about the affair of Antannan, the Company's servant at Yânâm, and added, 'On M. Sainfray's

[1] *I.e.*, the Council at Fort St. David. The occupation of St. Thomé was certainly proposed by Boscawen; but the Council do not seem to have tried to evade responsibility. Indeed, there was no particular reason why they should have done so. They seem to have had plenty of evidence that their action only anticipated similar action by Dupleix.

[2] I suppose Ranga Pillai introduces this as an instance of lawless behaviour. However both French and English were equally concerned in hindering an enterprise which both regarded as dangerous to their trade, and detachments from Fort St. David and Pondichery were employed jointly against the Swedes. Barrington was an Englishman acting as Supercargo of the Swedish Ship. The correspondence relating to this affair occurs in P.R. No. 13.

[3] *2nd Kârttigai, Sukla.*

complaining in November 1748, he was told that he might dismiss him and appoint whom he liked. When M. d'Espréménil went away,[1] the Subahdar of Rajahmundry and [Ellore] sent dalayets to waylay him, thinking he was carrying large sums of money from Madras; and money was obtained from him. M. Sainfray wrote from Yânâm that Antannan had gone and informed the palace people of Ellore and Rajahmundry, and thus caused him to be plundered. But this was false, for Mr. Saunders,[2] chief of the Ingeram factory, wrote to Ellore that the French Deputy Governor at Madras had fled northwards to Ellore, with large sums of money belonging to the English, that they might get lakhs by seizing him, and that he would give a present if he were seized and sent to him. M. Choisy, hearing this false report, and knowing what the chief of Ingeram was about, sent Antannan, with directions how to act. Antannan has produced his orders. As he disliked Antannan's going to the Governor of Pondichery, he grew angry and wrote what he did; but Antannan is not to blame. He has served the Company for 25 years; and till he set out for Pondichery, every Governor thought well of him as he sought the Company's interests with faithfulness and ability. As soon as the Governor wrote

[1] D'Espréménil, commandant at Madras, quitted his post suddenly in May 1747, and proceeded overland to Yânâm, whence he took ship for Bengal.

[2] Thomas Saunders, who became President in 1750 and took a leading part in the resistance offered by the English to the policy of Dupleix.

for Antannan to be sent to Pondichery, false charges were trumped up against him. Does he owe the Company anything or did he run away? But when he came with permission to see his master, his house was broken open, and gold and silver seized, and then the door was sealed up and guarded by peons. Moreover they tried to imprison Antannan's son and others without reason, so that they fled. M. Sainfray has thus troubled an innocent man. Antannan has proved that in the matter of the lands worth 250 pagodas, he only acted as M. Choisy ordered; so he is not to blame. If he is indebted to others, others are indebted to him; but the Company has nothing to do with such things. As for the complaints said to have been made by the merchants, I think they were made at the Chief's instigation. The Yânâm merchants formerly wrote to the Governor praising Antannan. But as the chief of the factory has a grudge against him, he must have sent for the merchants and persuaded them to complain. Antannan is guilty of nothing. He is perfectly innocent and till now has striven in the interests of the Company. He is trustworthy and capable; and no one can manage the business there as well as he. All the other Company's servants have been punished, dismissed four or five times for their faults, and then restored. But he has behaved so well for 25 years, without committing a single fault, that all regard him as capable and trustworthy. It is certain that he has not his

equal. M. Lenoir, who succeeded M. Sainfray, has written to the same effect. I shall take the paper of accusation to-morrow to the Governor at Mortândi Choultry; he will decide, and the Council will sign the sentence. Venkatêsan there is a great rascal. I had him tied up and beaten, put him in chains, and then expelled him. I do not know why M. Choisy took him into his service. I was chief of Yânâm for 12 or 13 years and of Masulipatam for 10 years; and I know who were rogues and who served the Company honestly. This Antannan served under me for 17 years, and was always truthful and hardworking.' He thus spoke at great length for an hour and added, 'M. Lenoir is wrong to write that Antannan's son is intriguing against our Yânâm factory with the Nawâb of Ellore and Rajahmundry. How could he do so, when his father is here settling his affairs with the Governor? He is complaining only for complaint's sake, without reason.' I replied, 'I have the son's letters to me and his father. In his letter to his father he says, "We have served the Company 25 years. You went because the Governor sent for you. People attack us thinking that you went to carry tales to the gentlemen and the Company's Telugu servants. Whatever people say or do, do not get angry or speak unguardedly of what happened here; for, if you do, we shall be regarded as liars and no one will believe us. Instead of that, speak about our business, reply properly to the Governor in the

affair he summoned you about, win his favour and return." When he writes thus to his father, it is a downright lie to say that he wants to do this or that.' M. Guillard replied, 'He has written very sensibly to his father. Even if he had written otherwise, their envious complaints that he did this and that have proved false, so that there can be no truth in what they say about his desires. They are not people to care for the Company's interests; their sole object is to profit themselves and ruin their enemies by bringing false charges, neither fearing the sin, nor caring for the Company's interests. The complaint to you [. . .].'

Friday, November 14.[1]—As Parasurâma Pillai was to give a feast to-day in Arumpâtai Pillai's Choultry, I went there last night with Kôdandarâma Ayyan and others. We stayed there till this evening and returned home at half-past six.

Saturday, November [*15*].[2]—I did not visit the Governor to-day at Mortândi Choultry, as I heard he was going to my choultry to-morrow evening after dining at the tamarind tope in Bommayya-pâlaiyam.

The people at my choultry and the poligars' peons at the bounds say as follows:—When Madras was restored by the French, Mr. Boscawen, the admiral, appointed Mr. Lawrence, who was major at Fort St. David, Governor of Madras; but as

[1] *3rd Kârttigai, Sukla.*

[2] *4th Kârttigai, Sukla.*

Madras is now under Fort St. David, Mr. Prince has been sent as Governor of Madras from Fort St. David. He is going overland to-day and his people are conveying his goods to Madras. The Madras dubâshes, who were at Cuddalore with their families, are returning to Madras.

Madame Dupleix sent the following by her Christian chobdar, Arulânandan :—

A bond executed by Sungu Chinnarâmi Chetti and Lakshmana Râo to the Madras assayer Dimmâsu for 5,250 pagodas ; an agreement (written in a cadjan and in a cadjan cover) made by Venkatanârâyanappa Ayyan with the Governor promising one-fourth of the amount if it were recovered ; two bonds executed by Venkatanârâyanappa Ayyan to Madame Dupleix pledging the above-said bond for 2,500 rupees—one for 2,000 rupees and the other for 500 rupees ; and a letter to me—in all 5 papers.

Sunday, November 16.[1]—I heard this morning that the tables, chairs, etc., and even the [. . .] sent last night to the tamarind tope at Bommayyapâlaiyam for the Governor's visit, had been removed as he had abandoned his visit on account of a headache. I sent everything to my choultry and ordered Appâvu and Venkatâchalam to go there.

At twelve o'clock I heard that the Governor, the three women of M. Carvalho's family and the Governor's daughter had driven magnificently to

[1] *5th Kârttigai, Sukla.*

M. Friell's garden in a bullock cart used to carry manure and that the rest had come in their respective conveyances. I had ordered 21 small guns to be fired as soon as the Governor and Madame arrived; and it was done accordingly. When I heard the report at twelve o'clock, I set out, reached the tamarind tope at half-past one and conversed with the Governor. He was at table; and he and Madame said that the priest at my choultry had provided them with food and that I could partake of it. I replied politely, 'What I, my people and the choultry priest eat is all bestowed by you, so do not say that this has been separately prepared, that I may eat of it.'—'In that case,' he said, 'we will eat the pandâram's food; and you may go and eat too.' I took leave and went to eat at the choultry. On the way, I heard that the Governor and the Second had walked to my choultry. So I took my bath, ate rice with pepper water, took leave, and went to my *agrahâram*. When I was passing beyond the tank north of Bommayyapâlaiyam and south of my *agrahâram*, I met Madras Sittukkâdu Chinnatambi Mudali walking in front of his dhooli. On seeing me, he saluted me with hands joined and raised, and recited Tiruvalluvar's *Kural*, 'Be born and win glory: else be not born at all.' He also said, 'God has caused your birth according to Tiruvalluvar's couplet. Yours was a real birth, not vain like that of others. Though the Pâdshâh and they who dwell 1,000 or 2,000 leagues away have

never seen you, yet they rejoice at the sound of your name, such glory have you won among the Tamils. What else is so well worth desire?' I asked him if he was not Chinnatambi Mudali. He said he was. I said, 'A man may indeed enjoy a great position: but I have heard that you are devoted to study, that you can recite the 1,330 couplets of Tiruvalluvar's *Kural*, that you have learnt their truth by experience and can expound them from your own knowledge, that you have conquered anger, and learnt patience, that you have discussed all things with the learned and are a friend of all. Therefore I have desired greatly to see you, and to-day my desire has been satisfied.' When I thus praised him, he replied suitably. As the Governor had gone to my choultry, I could not spare time to talk with him more, but I desired him to stay the night there, sup with me, and talk for an hour before his departure. He replied, 'As soon as I reached your village, your relative Tirumalai Pillai's son, Venkatâchalam, spoke with me and gave me a feast and *pân supârî* and I then took my leave. Moreover I have to go to Fort St. David on urgent business, so be pleased to excuse me.' Having exchanged words of compliment, I dismissed him and went to the Governor, who was halting at my tope.

Appâvu and Venkatâchalam gave the Governor nazars of 21 pagodas each. He gave Appâvu's back, telling him to get and wear a gown made with the

money. The Peddu Nâyakkan replied with compliments, 'The food I eat and all else come to me from you. Is it necessary that you should give this?' The Governor said, 'Never mind, take it, and have a gown made for you to wear.' Peddu Nâyakkan informed me of this on my way.

On my arrival the Governor said, 'When the English attacked us last year, they did not do much harm.' I replied, 'They cut down a few coconut-trees and some small jack-trees, and burnt the houses over there where new houses have now been built. They carried away the bricks, door-frames, doors, the roofing, etc. I have only just replaced all these things. They did the same in Kâlâpêttai but did not touch the trees in M. Legou's garden or the groves by the way-side.' He said that was true, and asked whither the Brâhmans and others had gone. I replied, 'All the Brâhmans fled to Wandiwash and Tiruvannâmalai; but the Sûdras and fishermen, etc., went to Merkânam, and Âlambarai; and returned when the English had retreated and we had posted 300 sepoys to guard the road to Madras. The Brâhmans returned in January.'

He then asked who Venkatâchalam was. I said that his father's father and my father were brothers. He asked where they lived. I said, 'They lived at Madras, where we owned three upper-storied houses, worth three or four thousand pagodas. When our people captured the fort, they pulled down many houses and ours among the rest.' He said, 'That

is true; you have already told me about it.' When I was saying that Venkatâchalam had been learning Portuguese under M. du Bausset for the last five or six years, and that Appâvu could read and write French, he asked if my son could walk yet and how he was. I replied, 'Your slave is well and can walk a little.' He then asked what his name was. 'His name is yours,' I said. M. Darboulin[1] then asked what *Bahâdûr* meant. I said that it meant 'the victorious.' After a pleasant conversation, the Governor went with M. and Madame Duplan and M. and Madame du Bausset to the tamarind tope, where he took leave of them and drove back to Mortândi Choultry in a bullock-cart used to carry manure with those who had accompanied him. Twenty-one guns were fired when they set out. I, M. du Bausset and others went to my choultry where we stayed the night.

Monday, November 17.[2]—As I had been staying at my *agrahâram* at Tiruvêngadapuram, since last night, M. Duplan, his wife and M. du Bausset who had come on an excursion to my choultry, begged me to share their feast this afternoon. I cannot describe their polite words. A week ago they wrote to me asking me to visit and eat with them. They have twice visited my choultry on an excursion and I have supplied them with rice, dhall, ghee, goats, fowls

[1] If my identification is correct—Ranga Pillai writes 'Dâbolattiyai'—this was the husband of Rose Albert, and so brother-in-law to Dupleix.

[2] *6th Kârttigai, Sukla.*

and other provisions. I wrote to the poligar of Mâttûr and others to supply them with deer, hares, partridges, etc., and ordered the fishermen to supply fish. So they begged me to eat with them. I agreed and they had their food prepared by a Brâhman that I might partake of it. So I stayed there.

Although I have been renter of Pudupattu for the last four years, I had never visited the place. So I told my people to remain at Kevuravam Kôdandarâma Ayyar's *agrahâram*, and I went to Pudupattu with Krishna Râo and others who were willing to come with me. When I got there, Mullâ Sâhib and other ryots and manigar Kumara Pillai visited me with a present of 11 rupees. I spoke encouragingly to the cultivators, Mudalis, poligars and others. They replied, 'We have already experienced your benevolence. Since the village passed into your hands, we have been fortunate enough to acquire houses, goods, etc. But though you have given 100 pieces of gold to maintain the temple services, dancing and music are still needed. With your leave, we will send for dancing girls, musicians, etc. Moreover the temple out-houses are in ruins. Be pleased to repair them, so that men may say affairs are managed as well as they were 20 or 30 years ago.' I gave orders to manage all things magnificently, went to the temple to worship, inspected the place, gave *pân supârî* to Mullâ Sâhib and others, and, giving them leave, returned to the *agrahâram* at ten o'clock, where I met M. Cornet, his wife,

M. Desfresnes and M. Bury. After conversing with them, I saw the Madras dubâshes, on the way from Cuddalore with their families, halting to prepare their food. Imâm Sâhib's gumastah, Chokkappa Mudali, having heard that I had arrived last night with Krishna Râo, and being friendly with the Madras dubâshes, came to the *agrahâram*, and said that they had observed in conversation that they had neither seen me nor cultivated my friendship with letters, and that as I was the most famous of the Tamils, they wished to behold me before going on their way. As they thus courted my friendship, I answered politely that I was much obliged to them and was willing to receive them. There were Vêlappa Mudali, an Agamudiyan, who is dubâsh to a Captain of a Europe ship, Vijayanna Nâyakkan (a Telugu), and Ârumugattâ Mudali, an Agamudiyan. I remembered that the last had lived in the lane south of the Nâttu Pillaiyâr Temple near my house at Madras. Moreover when I was a boy, I and his younger brother learnt under a teacher named Embâr at Madras, and I used to go to play at his house. I told him that although he did not remember me, I remembered him. When I reminded him of my old acquaintance, he said I was right. This Ârumuga Mudali and a dubâsh (whose name I do not know) visited me. I received them with compliments. They replied, 'We are strangers here, but Sungurâma Chetti, the Tamil, says that you are the only man famous alike in India and

Europe.' When I had replied suitably, they said twice that praise from me was deserved only by the lords of countries, and added, 'Mr. Prince is going as Governor of Madras. We have been living till now at Fort St. David and are going to Madras with our families.' So saying, they rose to take their leave, but I made them sit again and asked when Mr. Boscawen had sailed for Europe. They said, 'In the month of October.' I then asked if Mr. Morse had gone home. They said, 'Mr. Morse is at Madras, but his wife has sailed for Europe to excuse his fault and get him reappointed Governor. God's will remains to be seen. Some of the directors in Europe think Mr. Morse and his councillors innocent, but others that he is guilty. So she has gone to persuade Mr. Boscawen to get him restored by explaining matters. It all depends upon his luck.' So saying, they desired to depart; but I begged them to wait, take *pân supârî* and rosewater after their food, and then depart. They agreed, and said they would eat before going on their way, but that they could not return to take leave. I gave them rice, dhall, ghee, etc.; and, after they had eaten, they sent word they were going and so departed.

While we were eating, M. and Madame Duplan, M. du Bausset and others drank to my health; and I sent them word that I wished them the same. Afterwards M. du Bausset and M. Duplan came to the Brâhman's house where I was, with *pân supârî*,

cutch,[1] cardamom, mace, nutmeg, etc., in a large tray, gave me *pân supârî* and offered me their compliments. I sent them away with compliments in return. After resting for about an hour, I took leave of the aforesaid European ladies and gentlemen, and arrived home at six o'clock this evening with Kôdandarâman, Krishna Râo and Chokkappa Mudali.

Saturday, November 22.[2]—The Governor sent for me at eight o'clock this morning and asked if 'Alî Naqî Sâhib had paid what he owed. I said he had not. He then asked if the present of money from the Nayinâr had been received. I said that would be received to-morrow. He said that if it were given to his writer, Ranga Pillai, he could send it to the camp for the expenses there, and, sending for the writer, he told him to collect the Nayinâr's money and pay it to Parasurâma Pillai to be sent to M. Duquesne.

M. Bruno has written from Covelong that the English at Madras say that Mr. Boscawen is at Trichinopoly. 'What a lie!' the Governor said. I replied, 'They lie because this is the time of ill-fortune for them and of success for the French. In this kingdom [.]'

Monday, November 24.[3]—Letters have come from Chandâ Sâhib about the settlement of the

[1] See Watt's, *Commercial Products of India*, pp. 8, etc.
[2] *11th Kârttigai, Sukla.*
[3] *13th Kârttigai, Sukla.*

Udaiyârpâlaiyam affair with one to him from 'Abd-ul-amîn Khân, the Subahdar of Sâvanûr and Bankâpuram.[1] Chandâ Sâhib's letter to the Governor says, 'I send herewith a letter from the Subahdar of Sâvanûr and Bankâpuram. You will learn all things from it. He wants two Europe dogs and a telescope. Please send them and return me the letter after you have read it.' The other letter says, 'When I was at Pondichery, the poligar of Udaiyârpâlaiyam sent to Ânanda Rangappan vakîls who agreed to pay a lakh of rupees with something for the darbâr expenses, and went away saying that they would bring the money. But when Nâsîr Jang's advance was spoken of, he did not send the money, remaining in his own place and delaying payment. By your blessing and kindness, M. Duquesne and others camped there and sent troops in advance. Immediately this mean fellow, the poligar, agreed to pay a lakh and a half of rupees on the spot and a lakh of rupees after a fixed time. When three or four guns had been fired and they had entered the bounds, he agreed and paid 70,000 pagodas in ready money.[2] When I departed, you were

[1] Ranga Pillai speaks of him below as 'Abd-ul-majîd Khân, younger brother, or younger son, of the Nawâb of Cuddapah. The history of the Pathan nawâbs is exceedingly obscure; but the families of the Nawâbs of Cuddapah and Sâvanûr were related; see the *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. xxii, p. 793. They do not however seem to have been so closely related at this period as Ranga Pillai indicates. He probably confuses the Nawâb of Sâvanûr with another 'Abd-ul-majîd Khân, who succeeded 'Abd-ul-nabî Khân as Nawâb of Cuddapah in 1751.

[2] At 350 rupees per 100 pagodas, this would be only 2,45,000 rupees —less than the 3 lakhs reported by the English. See above, p. 251, n

displeased about the money needed for the camp expenses. I have now collected money here and I will not trouble you more. With your favour, the Tanjore affair will be settled for much more money. Nawâb Muzaffar Jang writes that he is encamped 12 kos from Tanjore, that proposals are being made and that the matter will be settled soon. It was written that parwânas must be got from the Râjâ of Tanjore, if Tirunallâr and other pargannahs were to be added to Kârikâl. I am camped 12 kos from the Coleroon which is 8 kos from Tanjore; so I am 20 kos from Tanjore. If I come to terms with the Râjâ, I will get his parwâna for the pargannahs mentioned in the list; otherwise I will seize the fort, with the help of M. Duquesne and other officers, and will send my own parwâna as you have written. Sêshâ Râo Bahâdûr has tied *tôranams* in the Trichinopoly country this side of the Coleroon, and troops have already been sent to tie *tôranams* in the Tinnevelly country. By your favour, Trichinopoly and its fort will fall into my hands.' There was also a note in it saying, 'I hear that when Imâm Sâhib's bonds for 9,090 gold mohurs and 20,000 Madras new [pagodas] were sent by Râghava Pandit for payment, you objected saying that the bonds were unsealed, and bore no body's name, so that they could bind no one. I tell you that such things are not unusual. I will get the money from Imâm Sâhib's son; so return the bonds by Râghava Pandit.' I intended to report this to the Governor

on his arrival, but as he has not yet arrived, I shall go this afternoon to Mortândi Choultry to report it to him, and we shall see what answer he gives.

Tuesday, November 25.[1]—At nine o'clock this morning, on the Governor's arrival from Mortândi Choultry, I read to him the contents of Chandâ Sâhib's letter received yesterday as written in yesterday's diary. He said, 'You reported that the Udaiyârpâlaiyam affair was settled for 70,000 pagodas; but M. Duquesne writes that it was settled for 60,000.' I explained that the amount was made up by 10,000 pagodas for the darbâr expenses. He then said that the grant of villages at Kârikâl could only be settled after Chandâ Sâhib had reached Tanjore. I replied, 'Chandâ Sâhib has written that if he comes to terms with the Râjâ of Tanjore, he will get a grant of the villages, otherwise he will seize the fort and give his own parwânas. He will certainly do as he writes.'

He then asked how much I thought the Tanjore affair could be settled for. I replied, 'Chandâ Sâhib hopes to get a crore or half a crore of rupees; but I think it may be settled for 25 or 30 lakhs.' He said, 'If the affair be settled for half a crore as Chandâ Sâhib hopes, we must help him with troops to conquer the country as far as Aurangabad; and then he will show his generosity.' Râghava Pandit said that, by the Governor's favour, Chandâ Sâhib,

[1] *14th Kârttigai, Sukla.*

would doubtless finish everything as he wished. The Governor said, 'Affairs have been settled with the Udaiyârpâlaiyam and other Killedars because of their fear of me; else, at a time when Nâsîr Jang had given orders to advance, no one would have joined Chandâ Sâhib's army or paid him a cash.' I replied, 'The whole world on which the Sun shines says that, without your help, Chandâ Sâhib could not have conquered Anwar-ud-dîn Khân or captured the subah of Arcot.' He said that I was right. I then reported the contents of the letter to Chandâ Sâhib from 'Abd-ul-majîd Khân, younger son of 'Abd-ul-nabî Khân, Nawâb of Cuddapah, as follows :—'With the strong help of the French, you will easily conquer Tanjore, Trichinopoly and the killas. God has given you their help so that you may defeat the northern army; so you will succeed in all ways. But the Gingee fort is the strongest in the Carnatic and in all Hindustan; if you strengthen it and keep friends with Nawâb S'aadat-ul-lah Khân Bahâdûr Muzaffar Jang, you will gain all your desires. As I enjoy your favour and Nawâb Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân Muzaffar Jang's, my elder brother, the subahdar of Cuddapah, leaving his family at Cuddapah, has gone to Cumbum, etc., with the subahdar of Kandanûr to stop the robberies there; and he will return in peace in a short time. I pray God to bless you with the same high position as the deceased S'aadat-ul-lah Khân, my uncle, who got large wealth in the Arcot subah,

and ruled for many years, all bowing before him. There was formerly a correspondence between us and the Governor of Pondichery; but it was stopped on account of the war between him and the English. As you and the Governor of Pondichery are friends, please write to him to send me two small rough-coated Europe dogs and a telescope such as were sent before.' The Governor said, 'His proposals for Chandâ Sâhib are good; and what he says is true. But dogs cannot be had; the Muhammadans do not like what we do. I have already given them three or four dogs, but they did not treat them well. See if any dogs can be got here.'

He then said, 'It was formerly written that Râghava Pandit had complained that we were objecting to Imâm Sâhib's bond because we did not know who had written it and because it was not sealed. The signature is the principal thing, and that was why Râghava Pandit remained here with the bond to explain the matter. It is now written that he will collect the money from Imâm Sâhib's son if we return him the bond by Râghava Pandit. As luckily Râghava Pandit has the bond, let him do as desired. Imâm Sâhib's son will answer us to-day or to-morrow, and Râghava Pandit can go after the reply has come. Write to Imâm Sâhib's son to reply quickly to our former letter.' I told Madanânda Pandit to write and bring a letter.

The Governor then asked if I had enquired into the theft of paddy by the Villiyanallûr Reddis with

the connivance of our people. I replied that the Second had enquired into it when he went to Villiyanallûr on Saturday and that he had brought the accused here and imprisoned them. 'But some of the Reddis have fled,' he said. I replied that they generally did so. 'That shall not be done in my darbâr,' he said. 'True,' I answered.

He then asked if any money had been received. I replied, 'Two-thirds of the Nayinâr's dues have been paid to your writer. I have also paid him 1,000 rupees on account of the mortgaged lands at Villupuram.' He then said, 'I think paddy is very cheap now for I see heaps of paddy in the bazaars but no crowd of buyers.'—'True,' I replied; '*manakattai*[1] which was selling at five measures sells now at six and a half or six and three quarters; and even then there are no purchasers—it simply lies in store.'

I then reported that 20 loads of Salem cloth had arrived, but, as they had got wet, they were not ready to be sorted at the Fort and I would have them stamped and send them to the washers. 'Very well,' he said. I then came home as it was past twelve.

Wednesday, November 26.[2]—As M. Cornet is entertaining the Governor to-day at a feast at Olukarai, the latter stayed at home, writing letters to Mahé, till a quarter past eleven, and then went to Olukarai. So I heard nothing important.

[1] See Vol. IV, p. 232, *n.* 2, *ante.* [2] *15th Kârttigai, Sukla.*

I hear that the people of Wandiwash and those parts are flying to Arni, Chêtpattu, etc., that Nâsîr Jang has marched this way from Kalyan and Gulbarga, that Saiyid Lashkar Khân has reached this side of the Kistna with 6,000 horse, that the subahdars of Cuddapah and Kandanûr are moving against him,[1] and that the people of Arcot, etc., hearing this are flying in panic. I went to the Company's merchants' godown at twelve o'clock and then came home.

When I was in the Company's godown, Sungu Sêshâchala Chetti came and asked the Company's merchants to sign the agreements sealed by the Nawâb and already signed by the debtors, undertaking to pay their dues in five years' time. But Chittambala Chetti, Âdivarâha Chetti and others said that all were not there, and that they would sign when the rest had come. So saying, they dismissed him.

Thursday, November 27.[2]—The Governor did not come in this morning from Mortândi Choultry; nor did I go out to him, as he was here yesterday morning.

Râghava Pandit came and said, 'The Ariyalûr affair has been settled for 40,000 rupees. As Eraivâsanallûr and Vâlikondâpuram have been promised

[1] The Nawâb of Kurnool, Himâyat Khân, appears to have attacked and defeated a small force sent to him with orders from Nâsîr Jang. See *the Kurnool District Manual*, p. 31.

[2] *16th Kârttigai, Sukla.*

to Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân, the army is marching thither, to take possession of them.'

By peon Sankaran who carried letters to our camp, I received the following letter from Venkatanarasu, Madanânda Pandit's son-in-law :—' The gumastahs are not satisfied with their presents and are displeased at not receiving one or two parwânas. A suitable letter should be written to them. When the troops were encamped at Udaiyârpâlaiyam, Miyân Mas'ûd went to Chandâ Sâhib and demanded a lakh of rupees for expenses ; the latter said that he had no money at that time and that he would give some when he had collected money. He thereupon behaved disrespectfully to Chandâ Sâhib, and among many other things, said he [Chandâ Sâhib ?] should not continue to live. For an hour and a half I feared there was going to be a revolution. But by God's grace they have kept apart. The sepoys have not been paid and I cannot describe their distress. I fear they will not remain.' Sivasankaran, who has come from camp, told me the same.

It is also written that 'Alî Khân has quarrelled with 'Abd-ul-rahmân, and that, as the former drew his sword and was on the point of running it through 'Abd-ul-rahmân, he is being sent here under arrest. I have heard no other important news.

Venkatanarasu has written to his father-in-law, Madanânda Pandit, that, when the troops were encamped at Udaiyârpâlaiyam, Dumalli Krishnâji

Pandit, Nawâb S'aadat-ul-lah Khân Muzaffar Jang's dîwân, who had been ailing, quitted his mortal body and attained heavenly bliss, on the 22nd at midnight, wherewith Nawâb Muzaffar Jang was exceedingly afflicted. I hear that this man was greatly trusted by Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân, as he had been appointed his dîwân by his grandfather the Nizâm. He had been a close friend of Nâsîr Jang and the Nizâm, and had served them so faithfully for 30 years or more, that they trusted him completely. He was by birth a Golconda merchant. Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân treated him as a father, and always followed his counsel. As dîwân, he enjoyed undisputed power. When, after the defeat of Anwar-ud-dîn Khân, they marched from Arcot to Poudichery, he attended the Brahmôtsavam festival at Tirupati and gave the lease of Tirupati to Srînivâsa Âchâriyâr, so that he did not come here with Nawâb Muzaffar Jang. He died after joining the camp at Udaiyârpâlaiyam. All say that he was charitable, sincere, and kind to all. When he reached Arcot, he wrote a letter of compliment desiring crude camphor, musk and Malacca sandalwood to be sent to Tirupati; so I purchased and sent them with a reply.

Friday, November 28 [1]—The Governor told Madanânda Pandit yesterday to get M. Bertrand the Persian seal in order to seal Chandâ Sâhib's letter. He took it this morning.

[1] *17th Kârttigai, Sukla.*

Mîr Asad, the killedar of Chêtpattu and Valudâvûr, has written to the Governor as follows :—'Not only have your people seized the villages and revenues belonging to the Valudâvûr killa for the last 40 years, but also they have seized five villages more, saying that they belong to Villiyanallûr. They hinder the bullock-loads of paddy, etc., being carried to Valudâvûr. What can be done if you act so unjustly? Please order your people to give up the five villages belonging to the jaghir of the Valudâvûr killa, to cease collecting the tolls and to let pass the bullock-loads of paddy coming to my place. Things should be done as usual, and men should not rob or abandon former customs. You have always treated me as a friend and done justice. I valued your friendship above all else. When you fought with Anwar-ud-dîn Khân during the troubles with the English, I was on your side, thereby incurring Anwar-ud-dîn Khân's displeasure. All this is known to you, so continue your friendship to me.' When this was reported to the Governor, he sent for his writer, Ranga Pillai, and that rascally shroff, Chidambaram, who is always seeking private gain out of the revenues, and questioned them about the revenue of these places As these revenues have been seized, they ought to have replied when questioned, that they had acted by Madame's order. The Villiyanallûr and Bâhûr pargannahs were given as a jaghir to the Company; but this did not include the right of collecting the tolls; and as

Madame could not order tolls belonging to others to be seized without the Governor's orders, they feared that, if they said so, they would be blamed, so they answered, 'As the merchants complained that they could not pay toll in two places, we stopped the bullock-loads of paddy going to Valudâvûr.' Thereupon Madanânda Pandit said, 'Then you have not only seized tolls, to which you have no right, but also stopped paddy and other goods. Are you justified in this?' When they remained silent, the Governor said, 'I know all about it. Send for Ranga Pillai. I will discuss the matter with him and reply to this letter.' The Governor asked Madanânda Pandit if our inam parwânas included the tolls. He answered, 'Why should Chandâ Sâhib have mentioned them? He would have done so only if there had been tolls belonging to the Villiyanallûr and Bâhûr pargannahs. He granted only what pertained to those countries. As the Pâdshâh's and Nizâm's sanads mention jaghir and tolls belonging to the Valudâvûr killa, so they were left out of our parwânas.' The Governor thereupon wished to send a peon for me; but when he heard that I had been prevented from going to him this morning by tooth-ache, said that I need not be sent for, and that a reply might be sent to Mîr Asad after he had seen me.

He then ordered a reply to be written to Chandâ Sâhib's letter received four days ago as follows:—'I was overjoyed to read your two letters

and learn that the Udaiyârpâlaiyam affair has been settled, that you were marching against Tanjore, that the inam parwâna for the villages near Kârikâl will be received as soon as the Tanjore affair has been settled, and that two dogs and a telescope should be sent as desired by the younger brother of 'Abd-ul-[nabî] Khân of Cuddapah. By God's grace, you will prosper in all your affairs. The Tanjore affair also will be settled as you desire. Do not forget to obtain an inam parwâna for Kârikâl according to our agreement. Let the sepoys and others be paid. The dogs and telescope cannot be got at present, but will be sent as soon as the ships arrive.' When this letter had been written with all detail sbout the important points, he ordered a complimentary letter to be written to Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân, as no letter had been written to him for a long time. So one was written and sealed. This and Chandâ Sâhib's letter were ordered to be despatched immediately by two messengers. Ranga Pillai asked the Governor to give to six ryots of Pilichapallam twelve yards of scarlet broad-cloth and to two others six yards (three yards apiece). They visited the Governor with a present of 21 gold mohurs, and then Madame with a roll of silk with 15 pagodas. Madanânda Pandit related the above news at half-past six to-night and added that the Governor had amused himself in a swing with his wife. I have written what he said.

Saturday, November 29.[1]—The Governor sent a peon for me as soon as he returned to the Fort from Mortândi Choultry this afternoon, but I sent word back that I was unwell. Writer Ranga Pillai's younger brother, Muttiya Pillai, came and said that the Governor had sent for his writer Ranga Pillai and told him he wished that God would bless me with good health. It was then reported to the Governor that 'Alî Khân had been brought in from the camp; he was ordered to be imprisoned in the clock-tower. He talked with M. Bury and others for a while and then returned to Mortândi Choultry.

Sunday, November 30.[2]—I went this morning to the nut-godown, wrote letters and talked with Lakshmana Nâyakkan and others. I heard no news.

[1] *18th Kârttigai, Sukla.* [2] *19th Kârttigai, Sukla.*

DECEMBER 1749.

Monday, December 1.[1]—When I went this morning to Mortândi Choultry and saw the Governor, he said, 'The money due on the Poonamallee and Chidambaram mortgages and from J'afar 'Alî Khân has not been received. A little has been received from your village, but nothing from the mortgaged villages; and 'Alî Naqî Sâhib has not paid the 3,000 rupees he promised on account of the cannon-godown.' I replied, 'We only received the mortgage and sent people after November 1. The June crops and the cambu crop had been collected by the former amaldârs for the old owners. There will be no collections till December, when our people there will take the produce, collect what little may be available and send the money here after selling[2] the produce and deducting the charges'—'True,' he said, 'but I suppose we shall get something out of it.' I replied, 'This is a time of scarcity, and there will be little gain. Even part of the tolls will be needed to meet the charges.' He replied, 'Why should we trouble about the charges? I want a hundred or two in ready money.' I replied, 'The charges will absorb not only the revenues from the villages but something more. To-morrow I shall pay your writer 2,000

[1] *20th Kârttigai, Sukla.* [2] Reading *Viththu* for *vittu.*

rupees received for the Tindivanam pargannah. As for 'Alî Naqî Sâhib's promise of 3,000 rupees towards the master-gunner's expenses, I will pay 2,000 rupees out of the Devanâmpattanam revenues which I have rented.' He asked when I would pay. I said I would do so to-day. 'Very well,' he said. When we were thus talking, he said that about 3,000 bullock-loads of paddy had passed by. I said that even more had passed. Just then a letter from Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân arrived. It said [ ].

The Governor returned at four o'clock this evening and sent for me. When I went to the Fort, he was just coming back from inspecting the new *Gouvernement*. I salaamed. On seeing me, he came towards me and said that M. Duquesne had written a letter bearing Chandâ Sâhib's seal and dictated by him, saying, 'Râyappa Râjâ, Bomma Râjâ's rival, must be released. His imprisonment prevents the northern poligars from joining me; so it is absolutely necessary to release him. Bomma Râjâ is indebted to Rangappan; that is why the latter will not release Râyappa Râjâ.' The Governor then told me to release him. I replied, 'Let him pay what he owes you and then he may be released. But need Chandâ Sâhib [ ].'

Tuesday, December 2.[1]—As I did not go to Mortândi Choultry this morning, I went to the

[1] *21st Kârttigai, Sukla.*

nut-godown where I met Lakshmana Râo, Sungu Mutturâma Chetti, Sêshâchala Chetti, Pâpayya Pillai, Venkatanârâyanappa Ayyan and Dimmâsayyan's gumastahs of the Madras Mint, with Madanânda Pandit. Sungu Chinnarâmi Chetti and Lakshmana Râo formerly gave one bond for 5,250 pagodas and another for 3,000 and odd—8,000 and odd in all—in Hêvilambi.[1] Although the interest was only $\frac{5}{8}$ per cent a month, yet, as the bond was executed so long ago, the amount due had grown great. They said that, if the amount could be collected, they would give a quarter to the Governor and a quarter to Madame, as the affair was to be settled through her. Moreover the bond for 5,250 pagodas was pledged with Madame for 2,500 rupees, nor has she succeeded in recovering this sum in the last six or seven years. She has therefore been sending to me to collect and pay her the money, and I have been urging Sunguvâr to pay at least Madame's 2,500 rupees though he could not pay the whole. I was doing my best to recover the money, as I had been desired, when Chandâ Sâhib reached Pondichery. Lakshmana Râo and Sungu Mutturâma Chetti visited him with presents through the Governor's recommendation. Thereupon an agreement was drawn up to the effect that for the next five years the creditors should not demand their moneys, that five years' interest from

[1] *I.e.*, 1717–18 A.D.

Sungurâma Chetti's death in January 1739 should be forgiven, and that the debtors should in the interval get in their dues in order to pay off their debts. To this agrrement was affixed Chandâ Sâhib's seal with the Governor's below it, and Sambu Dâs, Salatu Venkatâchala Chetti, Tânappa Mudali (Kanakarâya Mudali's younger brother), Parasurâma Pillai and 'Abbâs Khân's attorney (a Muhammadan whose name I do not know), all signed it. They believed they could recover their debts when their affairs in Udaiyârpâlaiyam, Tanjore, Trichinopoly and elsewhere had been settled with the help of the Nawâb Sâhib; and they requested the Governor to ask him to allow them to carrry on their business. Orders were accordingly given, and they prepared to accompany the troops. Then Venkatanârâyanappa Ayyan and Pâpayya Pillai, the assayer's gumastahs, went to Madame and desired her to tell me not to permit Lakshmana Râo and Mutturâma Chetti to go to camp till they had paid the 8,000 and odd pagodas with interest, hoping that Sungu Sêshâchala Chetti would agree to pay one bond in five or six months' time out of the first moneys collected. They offered her half the amount or what she pleased. They persuaded her to send by her Christian Chobdar, Arulânandan, Sunguvâr's bond of the 4th of last month for 5,250 pagodas, Venkatanârâyanappa Ayyan's for 2,500 rupees, the *procuration* given by assayer Dimmâsayyan authorizing Venkatanârâyanappa Ayyan to

collect what was owing, the old agreement that the Governor should be given a quarter of the amount if he recovered the debts, and a letter ordering me not to allow the Sunguvârs to depart unless they paid the amount. These were put in a small bag of red silk and brought to me from Mortândi Choultry by Arulânandan when I was at the nut-godown. He then departed. I sent at once for Lakshmana Râo and the Sunguvârs, and informed them of Madame's orders. As they could not depart without agreeing to pay the assayer's money, they came to an agreement at the nut-godown by means of Madanânda Pandit. On condition that no interest should be demanded on the assayer Dimmâsayyan's bond and that a quarter of the principal should be forgiven them, they agreed to give a present of 500 pagodas to Pâpayya Pillai and Venkatanârâyanappa Ayyan and to pay the remaining three-quarters before the middle of August 1750 out of the first moneys collected. Having thus come to an agreement, they went home at noon. Before departing, Pâpayya Pillai and Venkatanârâyanappa Ayyan said that they would show the agreement to Madame and get leave for Lakshmana Nâyakkan and Mutturâma Chetti to go to camp and orders for me to let them go.

During the troubles, Râmachandra Ayyan and Guntûr Venkatâchala Chetti had not been able to enjoy the revenues of Siruvalûr and other villages included in Mecca Ismâ'il Khân's nine jaghir

villages mortgaged to them for a debt and occupied by Muhammad Khân Sulaimân Khân. A fortnight ago, they asked Muhammad Khân, Lakshmana Râo and Sungu Mutturâma Chetti about the Singarikôyil case, and came to an agreement for 400 rupees, and Sêshâchala Chetti told them to go to Muhammad Khân and get the agreement written this afternoon. On this they went home to eat. I came home at noon.

Wednesday, December 3.[1]—Râmachandra Râo, son of Mêlugiri Pandit, and Guntûr Venkatâchala Chetti came to me this morning and said, 'Each man's share in the building of the Singarikôyil temple should be settled, otherwise no one will fulfil his promise. Yesterday Sungu Sêshâchala Chetti, Lakshmana Râo, Mutturâma Chetti, and Muhammad Khân Sulaimân agreed to allow 400 rupees a year for Singarikôyil, but 500 rupees will be required for anointing the god, etc. It must be clearly settled what share of the 400 rupees each is to pay. They should also build 18 houses in the Sannidhi Street for an *agrahâram*. We have been speaking to you about this for the last six months. You have leisure now, as the Governor is at Mortândi Choultry; so please come and settle the temple affair.' So I went to Singarikôyil with Sungu Sêshâchala Chetti, Salatu Venkatâchala Chetti, Alagiya Manavâla Chetti, Dharmasiva

[1] *22nd Kârttigai, Sukla.*

Chetti and Arunâchala Chetti (Company's merchants), Nâranappayyan, Kâlahasti Ayyan's son, Madanânda Pandit and Krishna Râo. When we had offered worship and eaten, an agreement was written out and each signed for his share of the work.

Venkatapati Reddi, Lakshmana Reddi, Nârâyana Reddi, [. . .] Reddi of Alisapâkkam and Micha Gounden undertook to repair the tank inside the temple at a cost of 150 pagodas;

Mêlugiri Pandit's sons, Bâpu Râo and Râmachandra Râo, agreed to pay one-fourth and Venkatâchala Chetti (Guntûr Ravanappa Chetti's grandson) the remaining three-fourths of the cost of a stone mantapam in the temple estimated to cost 1,500 pagodas, formerly undertaken by Ravanappa Chetti. The Company's merchants, Arunâchala Chetti, Alagiya Manavâla Chetti, Kâlahasti Ayyan's son, Nâranappayyan and Guntûr Venkatâchala Chetti, to pay 100 pagodas to repair the gôpuram, the mantapam for the *vâhanam*, and the temple courts;

Madanânda Pandit to pay 50 Porto Novo pagodas to repair the mantapam of the Hanumanta shrine; and Sungu Venkatâchala Chetti to bestow on the Narasingaswâmi temple his coconut and mango garden.

Sunday, December 7.[1]—As the Governor sent for me yesterday evening, I went this morning to

[1] *26th Kârttigai, Sukla.*

Olukarai. He had a headache last night and could not sleep; and as he had to read the Europe letters brought yesterday by the Surat messengers, he did not go to Olukarai till twelve, and only attended the feast given there by the Second for half an hour. I and Madanânda Pandit saw him as soon as he returned. He gave me Nâsîr Jang's letter forwarded from Trichinopoly with three others to him, to me and M. Delarche and told me to interpret them.

Nâsîr Jang's letter says:—'I hear that, contrary to my repeated messages, you have joined those who are disobeying the Pâdshâh's orders. It is not proper for you to do so. Let bygones be bygones; but for the future separate yourself from them, be faithful to me as before, live in peace, writing letters to me, and seek my good will. If you continue to befriend my enemies and act as you have acted hitherto, be assured that I will write to Bengal and wherever your flag flies, that it shall be pulled down and your factories destroyed. Those who disobey the orders of my army in your parts [ ].'[1]

Tuesday, December 9.[2]—Madanânda Pandit came this morning and said, 'A peon summoned me at eleven o'clock yesterday, so I took my food, went to Mortândi Choultry and saw the Governor. When we interpreted to him the letter received on

[1] For another version of this letter see *Country Correspondence*, 1749, p. 60.

[2] *28th Kârttigai, Sukla, New-moon day.*

Sunday[1] the 29th from Muhammad 'Alî Khân at Trichinopoly and Nâsîr Jang's letter, he dismissed us saying that Nâsîr Jang's need not be answered, but that Muhammad 'Alî Khân's should be answered the next day or the day after. Muhammad 'Alî Khân's letter was as follows:—"I have received your letter and understand its contents. We have been familiar friends, so should you forget your friendship? Although you formerly looked upon Anwar-ud-dîn Khân as your father, you have violated your friendship with us. Nâsîr Jang has written a letter which I send herewith. If you act as he orders, I will give you twice as much as you will get from others. Moreover you will enjoy the friendship of the master of the country which will be a great source of strength in future. Henceforth let our friendship continue, and let a letter be written to Nâsîr Jang." The Governor told me to reply to this letter as follows:—"It is true that we were familiar friends and regarded each other as brothers; but when the English attacked us and besieged the Fort, you turned against us, helped the English, attacked our Fort, and did other things. Moreover you have disobeyed the orders of Nawâb S'aadat-ul-lah Khân Bahâdûr Muzaffar Jang who came hither with the Pâdshâh's authority, joined his enemies, and acted as they bid you. How can I trust you? If you do as Nawâb Muzaffar Jang orders and win his favour,

[1] *Sic.* The day of the week should be Saturday.

our friendship will prosper.'' He also told me to write to Nâsîr Jang that a reply as above had been written to Muhammad 'Alî Khân.' This reply was written and sent by the peon who came from Muhammad 'Alî Khân at Trichinopoly. Then the Tanjore people [ ].

When the Governor came to the Fort at four o'clock this afternoon, he sent a peon to fetch me. The peon came to me at half-past four. When I entered the Fort, the Second was passing by the *Gouvernement* which is being built, on his way from the Îswaran temple garden which he is looking after. We went to the Governor who was at the new *Gouvernement*, and he asked if the unbleached cloth had been sorted. I replied that it had been, and was with the washers. He then asked if any money had been received from the pargannahs. I said, 'No, but some will be paid in two or three days, and I will deliver it to your writer Our people have found what Muttu Mallâ Reddi's people buried in the ground and have brought it here. I do not know whether it belongs to Muttu Mallâ Reddi's sister or his mother. I hear that it amounts to 3,300 and odd [pagodas], but I have not seen it. I shall receive it to-night or to-morrow morning, put it up in bags of 1,000 pagodas, and give it to your writer with a written statement to whom it belongs.' He replied, 'He had better know nothing about it. I will take it from you when I return to town ; till then you had better keep it.'

He then added, 'You said that Muttu Mallâ Reddi was trying by Sêshâchala Chetti to get his wife released for 45,000 rupees. What has been done about it?' I replied, 'They are still discussing it. It will take ten days to get a large sum. They want a reduction to be made.' He said, 'I will not abate a cash from 45,000 rupees.'

He then said, 'I hear that Sau Bhâji Râo has surrounded Nâsîr Jang and is harassing him. Nâsîr Jang has no way of escape and does not know what to do. I assured Chandâ Sâhib that he need not fear either Sâhu Râjâ or Nâsîr Jang, and that he might attack and slay Anwar-ud-dîn Khân, and seize Arcot. As Nâsîr Jang has abandoned the idea of coming here and leaving Sau Bhâji Râo in peace, Chandâ Sâhib need not fear him now. If the Tanjore affair is settled, and Chandâ Sâhib gets 50 lakhs of rupees, he must give me 28 lakhs on account of the 40 lakhs advanced to Muzaffar Jang[1]; besides this, there is what he has received from Udaiyârpâlaiyam, the 11 lakhs of rupees settled with Mahfuz Khân for Trichinopoly fort and country, and the 10 lakhs of rupees settled for the lease of the Nellore, Sarvê-

[1] I do not understand how this total was reached. The only advances in money till this date made to Muzaffar Jang amounted to 3 lakhs. Besides this, there was the batta paid to the French troops during the Ambûr campaign, etc., and the donation promised (but only part paid) for that battle. Even if advances to Chandâ Sâhib are included, the total would still fall far short of 40 lakhs. According to M. Cultru (*op. cit.*, *p.* 319) Muzaffar Jang's debt to Dupleix and the Company fell short of 7 lakhs at a much later date. Moreover Dupleix' accounts of his expenditure from 1749 to 1754 apparently only showed 53½ lakhs.

palle, Elavânasûr and Vâlikondâpuram countries, Then he can pay the balance of 12 lakhs, give the sums due for the keep of horse, etc., finish his business and depart.'—'True,' I said, 'God will bless him by reason of your promise and his good fortune.'

Thursday, December 11.[1]—Chandâ Sâhib produced a bond without name or seal, and declared that 9,800 gold mohurs and 20,000 Madras pagodas were due from Imâm Sàhib as money deposited with him by Nawâb 'Alî Dôst Khân for 'Abid Sâhib's marriage, and desired that this sum might be paid out of the lakh of pagodas lent by Imâm Sâhib to the Company. As this bond had neither name nor seal, he was told that no money could be paid on such a bond and that the matter would be referred to Imâm Sâhib's son, Hasan 'Alî Khân. Thereupon Chandâ Sâhib said that he himself would demand the money from Imâm Sâhib's son, and requested that Râghava Pandit might be sent back to him. But we replied that we had written to Imâm Sâhib's son, and that Râghava Pandit should wait four days till he had answered. Imâm Sâhib's son's letter says, 'I have accounts for the settlement of this transaction, and the release deed, besides the deposit account and the original document. For the repayment of the deposit, I send a copy of Safdar 'Alî Khân's release sealed by the Kâzi of Aurangabad; that will prove my statement. My father owed nothing, but

[1] *30th Kârttigai, Sukla.*

many owed him money. I have the evidence of accounts and release deeds for what we have paid, and bonds and accounts for what is owing us. Regarding the money lent to the French Company, it is written that my father gave up his right to it in favour of myself and my younger sister. Moreover my father got for your Company the privilege of coining rupees, and settled other matters, hoping thereby to secure your protection for us after his death. So you are bound to protect us; we have no other protector. When Chandâ Sâhib comes, I will agree to pay 20,000 rupees for our jaghirs and killas—10,000 rupees at once and the balance by a limited time. But I hear Chandâ Sâhib, remembering his old grudge against us, speaks of giving our killas and jaghirs to Shaikh 'Abd-ul-rahmân, the captain of the Mahé sepoys, who has been recommended by you and who would be disappointed if they were given to another. As you have favoured 'Abd-ul-rahmân, he will try to secure them by representing his affairs to you. But let a letter be written to Chandâ Sâhib desiring him not to interfere with the killas and jaghirs.' Chokkappa Mudali and his son-in-law Ammayappa Mudali desired me to accompany them with this complimentary letter to the Governor; and Râghava Pandit complained with tears that he had been kept here a long time about Imâm Sâhib's business, that if he had been elsewhere, he could have made 10,000 pagodas, and that he would go whether I gave him leave or not.

To this complaint I answered that I could not go as I had a cold and headache, but that they could go to the Governor at Mortândi Choultry, explain all things to him, and get a reply, and that Madanânda Pandit was there. They went accordingly and visited the Governor with a present of 21 pagodas. He accepted the present, sent for Madanânda Pandit and Appu, and told the latter to interpret the letter to the former's reading. But as Appu could not interpret it, being ignorant of the division of sentences, he told them to bring me to-morrow. They replied that the killa was about to be seized, but that if a flag and four soldiers were sent, nothing could be done and the affair might be settled afterwards. He agreed, and desired the release deed to be read to Râghava Pandit who was there. The latter asked to be permitted to go as they said that they had Safdar 'Alî Khân's receipts for the payment of the money. He was accordingly given leave. He also asked for a letter to take with him. The Governor said, 'Ranga Pillai is coming to-morrow morning, and I will send you away with a letter as soon as he comes.' He added that Chandâ Sâhib still nourished his old grudge against Imâm Sâhib's son, and that they could all come to him to-morrow with me.

Coja [Shawmier ?]'s vakil petitioned Chandâ Sâhib complaining that we had seized the jaghir granted him for sending news; so the latter wrote to the Governor and to me, and sent the letters by a

servant. When Madanânda Pandit had interpreted them, he said that he would settle the matter when I came to-morrow and that he might be told to come then. This I have heard from him, Râghava Pandit and Chokkappa Mudali; and I have written accordingly.

Madanânda Pandit writes that a letter has been received from Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân requesting 7 or 8 fine guns, and that the Governor has replied that they can be sent only when the ships arrive.

The Choultry talaiyâri told me this afternoon that Kiliyanûr Pâpu Reddi (who was imprisoned along with Muttu Mallâ Reddi's wife) has been released on Munukku Appu Mudali's reporting that the Governor had ordered it. This confirms what I had heard that Chinna Parasurâma Pillai spent all yesterday at Mortândi Choultry settling this affair through Madame Dupleix for a payment of 40,000 rupees to the Governor, 10,000 to her, 2,000 to Appu Mudali, 800 to Madanânda Pandit, and 5,000 to himself for settling the matter and finding sureties. I also hear that 20,000 rupees have been advanced on good security to settle this affair. I know that this has been discussed for the last two months. I have heard about it daily but said nothing, as the Governor would get some ready money and the enemy's power would be lessened, while whatever was done without my interference would relieve me of so much responsibility. Moreover I advised Muttu Reddi to settle Muttu Mallâ Reddi's affair by some

honest means; but I did nothing, though the affair was being managed without me, in spite of my being renter of the Tindivanam country.

This evening two or three persons told me it had been settled that Muttu Mallâ Reddi's wife and children were to be removed from the choultry to the Nayinâr's house in two or three days, as soon as the Governor had received half the sum promised (20,000 rupees), that, when the other half was paid they were to be released, that Muttu Mallâ Reddi's grain, cattle, sheep, etc., which had been seized were to be restored and that the value of what had been already sold should be made good. They added that, when asked about the country, the Governor replied that that was mine and that he had nothing to do with it.

I heard to-night that Chinna Parasurâma Pillai gave a feast to Pâpu Reddi, as the affair had been settled by his management, sent for dancing girls to sing, gave them presents, and spoke unguardedly before them about his settling the affair. I also hear that Pâpu Reddi is to go to Madras to-morrow to see Muttu Mallâ Reddi, about the payment of the balance, and in company with him will fetch the money from the place where it is kept. We shall see how the matter ends; Muttu Mallâ Reddi's affair will be settled amicably for this sum of money if his days of ill-fortune are over; but otherwise he will perish.

Friday, December 12.[1]—Chokkappa Mudali and Râghava Pandit accompanied me to the Governor at Mortândi Choultry. I took them before him and reported the news. He asked what Râghava Pandit had said about the copy of Safdar 'Alî Khân's release deed received yesterday from Imâm Sâhib's son and sealed at Aurangabad, to the effect that the amount deposited by Dôst 'Alî Khân for 'Abid Sâhib's marriage had been paid to the last cash. I replied, 'This affair happened when Chandâ Sâhib was here and Dôst 'Alî Khân was still alive. After Chandâ Sâhib had been carried prisoner to Satâra by the Marathas, and 'Alî Dôst Khân had perished in battle, the latter's son, Safdar 'Alî Khân, settled the transaction and gave the release deed. Chandâ Sâhib has already admitted that the deposit receipt is not binding, because it does not say to whom the money had been paid and because it is neither signed nor sealed. [Râghava Pandit] told me in the presence of Madanânda Pandit that 'Alî Naqî Sâhib had only brought the receipt because Chandâ Sâhib had forced him to.' He replied, 'Send for him and question him.' When Râghava Pandit was questioned before the Governor, he repeated what he had already told me. The Governor asked how a great man like Chandâ Sâhib could cheat any one so, and told me to write to Chandâ Sâhib as follows:—'You left Râghava Pandit here with a deposit bill

[1] *1st Mârgali, Sukla.*

bearing no name, place or seal, for money due from Imâm Sâhib, and you desired that the money should be obtained and sent. I wrote to Imâm Sâhib's son, who replies that Nawâb 'Alî Dôst Khân set apart for 'Abid Sâhib's marriage 9,800 Arcot gold mohurs and 20,000 Madras pagodas, and that Safdar 'Alî Khân received the amount and gave a release deed, a copy of which has been sent with the Aurangabad Kâzi's seal. This has been seen by your man Râghava Pandit, and I send a copy of it by him. As the affair has been settled, nothing more can be said; your bill bore no seal or signature and was only a copy; and those who told you about it did not explain the matter fully, being ignorant of it. Mîr Asad alone knew of Safdar 'Alî Khân's affairs, and you two are bitter enemies. That is why you produced a copy, asserting it to be the original. There is a release deed regarding the settlement of the transaction, and Râghava Pandit has a copy of it. You will learn everything therefrom and from Râghava Pandit's words.' I said I would write accordingly and send the letter by Râghava Pandit. 'Do so,' he said. I told Madanânda Pandit to write a Persian letter, get it sealed and bring it.

Then the Governor said, 'Imâm Sâhib's son writes that Chandâ Sâhib has determined to give Tyâgar and its jaghir to Shaikh 'Abd-ul-rahmân and his brother Shaikh Hasan. I took much trouble about that and got nothing for it; so we will write to Chandâ Sâhib to stop it. Tell Imâm Sâhib's

gumastah, Ammayappa Mudali who has come here, and Chokkappa Mudali who has been here a long time.' I replied, 'I will speak to them to-morrow and inform you the day after. I will then write to Chandâ Sâhib and Muzaffar Khân not to meddle with Imâm Sâhib's jaghir and killa.'

He then said, 'So much for that affair. What about Muttu Mallâ Reddi's business which Sêshâchala Chetti is managing? Why has no money yet been paid?' I replied, 'I hear that Chinna Parasurâman settled yesterday through Madame what was to be paid and that Pâpu Reddi was released yesterday afternoon, when Appu told the Nayinâr that such were your orders.' The Governor said, 'Madame told me that Parasurâman was managing this affair, and I said he might serve as a go-between; what did I tell you about it?' I replied, 'Sungurâman demanded 40,000 for you and 5,000 for me and I told you 45,000.'—'45,000 including your 5,000?' he asked—'Yes,' I said.—'Why did you include your 5,000?,' he asked. I replied, 'I have always done so, and have been paying you accordingly. I did the same this time.'—'Very well,' he said; 'wait here; I do not know anything about it; I will go and ask Madame and come back.' So saying he went to his wife, though he had headache, and, returning, said, 'She says that Parasurâman has settled the business for 40,000 rupees to be paid in four days. I asked why she had managed the affair instead of leaving it

to you; she said she had done so because you were asking only 20,000 rupees.' I said, 'Pattâbbirâma Ayyar (a Brâhman), the Perumukkal people and Sêshâchala Chetti who were managing the affair, said that they would settle it for 40,000 rupees to be paid to you with something for me. But I did not agree, and asked them to pay you 45,000 and give me the value of the grain, etc., plundered by the English during the troubles. They agreed to do so to the last cash. Sungurâman offered to get me something when he[1] got a lease of the country in my possession. I said that it would not be given to him but to his younger brother if he made a proper offer.'—'His younger brother offered 35,000 rupees', he observed; 'what has happened about it?' I replied, 'I heard that you had settled the affair for 40,000 rupees and agreed to release his cattle, grain, goods, etc; so I thought that you were going to give up this amount and that you would be satisfied with what you had got; but I had intended after the payment of the 45,000 rupees to collect 35,000 rupees from his younger brother's half-share, and give it to you when Muttu Mallâ Reddi's grain, cattle, etc., were restored, returning the balance to him and making him the head of the country. I formerly told you about this; and it was with this object that his cattle, grain, etc., were ordered to be seized. But you have settled the affair, ignoring these things and without consulting me, so I thought that you had forgiven it to him'.

[1] *I.e.*, Muttu Mallâ Reddi.

He said, 'True, I forgot about it. Never mind. Let him pay the money and you may do as you please. Keep the affair secret and get rid of him after our affair is finished. As for Parasurâman, he should have minded his own business and not interfered in this. Henceforth you may do as you please.' I said, 'That cannot be. You should get as much as possible, and then do as I proposed.' He assented.

He then asked if the Nayinâr had borrowed money from M. Delarche in order to pay me. I said that was a downright lie and that he had got it from the people of the out-villages and the mint-people. He said, 'Some people are behaving ill, and will go on doing so till punished. I will see to it. You can go back to town.' I, Madanânda Pandit and his people, Râghava Pandit and Chokkappa Mudali, returned at noon.

Sunday, December 14. [1]—I went to the Governor this morning, and got leave for Chandâ Sâhib's man, Râghava Pandit, to depart. With reference to the deposit claimed from Imâm Sâhib, he said, 'The amount has been paid—there is the release deed for it. Write to Chandâ Sâhib as I ordered you the day before yesterday about Imâm Sâhib's son's reply and send it by him.' Râghava Pandit took leave accordingly.

About Chandâ Sâhib's intentions to grant the killa and the jaghir to Muzaffar Khân and Shaikh

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[1] *3rd Mârgali, Sukla.*

Hasan, a letter was written as follows:—'You should not do this thing. Imâm Sâhib helped us so much that I regarded him as my friend and his affairs as more important than my own. Moreover there is no difference between you and me, so you should not attack them. They have paid 20,000 rupees according to the killedars' agreement; so you should not trouble them.' When I said that this letter had been written to Chandâ Sâhib and his son, and was ready to go, according to the representations of [Imâm Sâhib's] people, he approved and ordered the letters to be despatched. He further ordered letters to be written to Muzaffar Khân and Shaikh Hasan not to meddle with Imâm Sâhib's son's killa and jaghir.

He then told me to write to Imâm Sâhib's son as follows:—'Letters have been written to Chandâ Sâhib, his son, 'Abd-ul-rahmân and Shaikh Hasan. Henceforth they will not meddle with your killa and jaghirs, and you may live at ease.' Such a letter was ordered to be written with suitable compliments, with this addition that my letter would explain everything. It was written accordingly and sealed, and he ordered it to be given to the gumastahs Chokkappa Mudali and Ammayappa Mudali. They received it, took leave and departed.

I then said, 'The Chidambaram man says that he will pay the 25,000 rupees due on the mortgage on your giving a receipt. I will write a Persian receipt, have it sealed with the Persian seal, and

send it to him, desiring him to send the money.' I then came home.

I hear to-day that Nâsîr Jang has sent a dress of honour to Mr. Floyer, the Governor of Fort St. David, who had it carried round Tiruppâppuliyûr and Devanâmpattanam in a palankin and received it after a salute[1]; that Mr. Cope is still in Trichinopoly Fort with 300 soldiers and 1,000 sepoys; that the English have hoisted their flag there; that Muhammad 'Alî Khân is with them with his sepoys; and that powder, shot, guns, etc., are being sent.[2] We shall see what happens.

A peon came this afternoon from the Governor at Mortândi Choultry for Madanânda Pandit and said that a camel had brought a letter from the Nawâb. Madanânda Pandit read the letter and brought me a Persian letter written in Chandâ Sâhib's own hand to the following effect:—'Husain Sâhib's full-brother, Badê Sâhib, has settled the Elavânasûr Vâlikondâpuram and Ranjangudi affair for 2,50,000 rupees in ready money. If the Tanjore affair is settled with the help of M. Duquesne, still larger sums will be received. I have therefore asked him to settle it. So write to him to settle the Tanjore affair for a large sum, or collect his forces and attack the fort. Please send 1,000 guns with flints, etc.,

[1] See *Country Correspondence*, 1749, pp. 60, 61.

[2] In October the English sent Lieutenant Bulkeley with 30 Europeans and 600 sepoys to Muhammad 'Alî at Trichinopoly (*Country Correspondence, 1749*, p. 42). On November 16/27 it was resolved to send Cope with 100 more Europeans.

and cartridges for the troops. I have sent inam parwânas for Tirunallâr, Kôttaichêri and a third place (I do not know its name) as a jaghir at Kârikâl. As soon as the Tanjore affair is settled, I will send the Râjâ's parwânas. Nawâb Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân has received great sums for one or two affairs he has settled, and slights me. If I quarrel with him, we shall fare ill; so I have entrusted this matter to M. Duquesne, as then no one will question what is done.' Madanânda Pandit told me that when the Governor heard this, he said that a reply could be written in the morning, and ordered the letter and Kârikâl jaghir parwânas to be shown to me and brought next day. So he came to-night, read me the letter and the parwânas and told me the news.

Monday, December 15.[1]—As the Company's merchants' bleached cloth was to be sorted, I went to the Fort this morning. When it was finished, the Second asked how much had been baled; and was told 41 bales.

The Second then said, 'When merchants here complained of their property being plundered, the old killedar of Gingee came here, seized the thief, and recovered 250 pagodas as his reward; but he only punished him and let him go without recovering the rest of the property. He was only entitled to this money on condition of recovering the lost

[1] *4th Mârgali, Sukla.*

1,000 pagodas and paying the balance after receiving his quarter. As he has not done so, tell him to refund it.' I came away saying that I would tell him to-morrow what was said when I mentioned the matter. When I sent word to the killedar, his gumastah, Ayyan Sâstri, came and told me that the killedar had paid over the reward, taken possession of the thief and poligar, and departed giving a receipt for the money. I will tell the Second this to-morrow.

The Governor returned to the Fort at half-past three this afternoon. I went there as he had sent for me. On seeing me, he said, 'Nawâb Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân is a mule. In every affair of his, he has made much and given only a little to others. He ought to send for Chandâ Sâhib, tell him how affairs have been settled, and give him a considerable sum. But as the Pâdshâh has appointed him in the place of Nâsîr Jang, he is too puffed up to be spoken to. You know that Chandâ Sâhib has written saying that he has entrusted M. Duquesne with the settlement of the Tanjore affair and told the Tanjore vakîls in his presence to attend the latter day and night until the affair was concluded. Chandâ Sâhib has sent his sealed parwâna for Tirunallâr and other places near Kârikâl and says that he will send the Râjâ's sanad. If, by God's grace, the Tanjore affair is settled for 50 lakhs of rupees, Chandâ Sâhib will prosper.' I replied, 'This is a fortunate time for him, because he has God's favour and your assistance.'—'True,'

he said, and added, 'The English have beaten and expelled from Madras the priest of the Capuchins Church, the Tamil Christians, and Topasses, etc. Mr. Boscawen carried some to Europe[1] and I believe we shall have another war. Whatever they may be otherwise, men will risk their lives for their religion.' I said there might be more troubles. He then said, 'Mr. Floyer, the present Governor of Fort St. David, is not worth a cash. Coja Petrus and other Armenians prayed for the return of the English; but he was expelled when he went to Madras after its restoration.' I said that I had heard the same, and that people were saying that those who had returned thither were so dissatisfied that they were going away again. He then went to Mortândi Choultry, though it was beginning to rain.

Tuesday, December 16.[2]—I did not see the Governor to-day but remained at home. I settled the lease of Bhuvanagiri to Muhammad Khân of Chidambaram, received the agreement from his gumastah, Nâranappa Nâyakkan, gave a feast and presents to Mudâmiah, Nâranappa Nâyakkan and the nâttârs and gumastahs, and signed the lease. I wrote to Muhammad Khân as follows:—'I have received the agreement from your gumastah according to your letter, and am sending him with the

[1] Boscawen carried to Europe the Capuchin Father René and a Portuguese priest, Antonio Noronha, who was released in 1750 on the application of the Portuguese Minister. (Aldworth to the Admiralty June 1, 1750, *P.R.O.*, *Ad.* 1, 4119.)

[2] *5th Mârgali, Sukla.*

lease and a dress of honour as a present for you.' I sent this by Nâranappa Nâyakkan.

I then wrote to Chandâ Sâhib about Tanjore, that M. Duquesne might settle it as desired; as for the 1,000 guns for troopers, with flints[1] and elephants which Chandâ Sâhib had asked for, I was to say that we had already supplied these things in abundance, that none could be sent at present, as we must keep a stock in hand, but that we would enquire for some and send them to Kârikâl, whither he might send to fetch them. I wrote accordingly and despatched it along with the Governor's letter to M. Duquesne. It looked much like rain to-day. Muttu Bôlam Reddi (Muttu Mallâ Reddi's younger brother) and Emberumâl Pillai went to attend Muttu Venkatapati Reddi's funeral ceremonies.

Wednesday, December 17.[2]—I did not go to Mortândi Choultry to-day. I hear that Pâpu Reddi, uncle of Muttu Mallâ Reddi's brother-in-law, has arrived and that the 20,000 rupees deposited in Chinna Parasurâman's house will be taken and paid to-morrow morning. We shall see what happens then.

Thursday, December 18.[3]—I heard this morning that Pâpu Reddi and Chinna Parasurâman had gone together. I believe that his ill-fortune is past and that good luck is coming to him, so that he will

[1] Reading *pathrî* for *paththiram*. [2] *6th Mârgali, Sukla.*
[3] *7th Mârgali, Sukla.*

cease to plan evil and have good sense enough to live quietly. God has punished him sufficiently for his sin; but His will remains to be seen. They have taken with them 20,000 rupees and we shall see what happens There was four or five inches of rain to-day.

Friday, December 19.[1]—I heard this morning that the Governor would come in from Mortândi Choultry on Sunday; so I remained here, and discussed the Tiruviti Nâttâr's business.

I received letters from M. Bruno in French and from Anga Pillai. The former says:—'Nâsîr Jang who came to Gulbarga has again gone towards Satâra, ordering Saiyid Lashkar Khân to seize Adoni, Râyachôti and other countries this side of the Kistna belonging to Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân Accordingly Saiyid Lashkar Khân has captured Râyachôti and hoisted his flag there. There is no news of Nâsîr Jang's coming southwards. Vîramarâjâ has burnt Taiyûr and four other villages in the Covelong country and is causing disturbances there. Malrâjâ who has joined the English is helping him with troops, powder, shot, etc. His uncle Kalyânarâjâ, who marched to seize him, has only men enough to surround his fort. As I have only 30 soldiers, I cannot suppress him. If you will send 100 sepoys, I will capture Vîramarâjâ and send him in. Please mention this to the Governor and send

[1] 8th Mârgali, Sukla.

the sepoys quickly.' I thought of reporting this to the Governor, but, as it was after twelve, I decided to tell him to-morrow.

In the evening, I visited the washers' place, and the stamping place, then went to the nut-godown, thence to the Company's godown, and complained that goods had not been brought in though it was after the middle of December. Then I came home.

When I was in the nut-godown this evening, Muttayyan, younger brother of Ranga Pillai, the Governor's writer, came and told me that he had come for the 20,000 rupees due on the Chidambaram mortgage. I dismissed him saying that a receipt had been sent and that money would come next day or the day after. As he left, he said, 'I have about 10,000 rupees which he told me to send to Kârikâl. It must go to-morrow as they need money for their expenses.' I dismissed him saying that it would be all right as money would arrive in two days and would then be available for these expenses. Madanânda Pandit, Tirumalai Râo, etc., were present.

Ranga Pillai, the Governor's writer, came to me at sunrise this morning and said, 'Before I began to manage Villiyanallûr, Bâhûr, etc., the Company's jaghir villages, I was esteemed as the Governor's writer. But since Savarimuttu the Lame was appointed poligar, he has been ruling and my authority as amaldâr has been slighted. He

plunders and treats me worse than a peon, so that the cultivators are refusing to remain. The Governor would never forgive him if I reported his conduct; but I cannot say anything on account of Madame.' I should fill over ten pages were I to write all he said. After complaining thus, he burst into tears and said, 'If I quit the employment, I shall be blamed; but if I remain, I shall not be obeyed. Moreover the lands are not being cultivated. How can cultivation go on unless the nâttârs and cultivators respect and obey the amaldâr? Even the cultivators disregard me because he does.' I encouraged and dismissed him.

Saturday, December 20.[1]—Appu Mudali sent word to me that the Governor would arrive at nine o'clock this morning after taking his [early coffee] and that the Nayinâr must be told to send coolies and Coffrees. I waited till ten o'clock at the nut-godown and then heard that he would arrive in the evening.

M. Bruno's letters to Madame Dupleix, to M. Barthélemy and to me which arrived yesterday from Covelong were sent this morning to the Governor at Mortândi Choultry by Parasurâman. I stayed till twelve o'clock at the nut-godown, and then came home at my usual meal-time.

As the tables and cooking utensils have been brought in from Mortândi Choultry to the Governor's

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[1] *9th Mârgali, Sukla.*

house, he is sure to arrive this evening. He went to Mortândi Choultry on the evening of Wednesday, November 5; so, if he returns this evening, he will have been there 45 days. The furniture, goods, etc., belonging to the lesser Europeans who went there have been brought back.

The Muhammadans say that they shall go in procession through the streets to-night on account of the Saint's festival[1] and bathe to-morrow morning.

The Governor returned from Mortândi Choultry at half-past five this evening. M. Friell who came with him sent a peon for me, so I went with Madanânda Pandit. He gave me Chandâ Sâhib's letter, telling me to interpret it. I gave it to Madanânda Pandit and asked him to read it. Before he had finished, the Governor turned to me and said, 'Chandâ Sâhib, M. Duquesne and others have surrounded the Tanjore fort. Moreover when Chandâ Sâhib told M. Duquesne about Tirunallâr and other places added as a jaghir to Kârikâl, it was arranged that *tôranams* should not be tied until the Tanjore Râjâ's parwâna was received. But M. Duquesne has now written to M. Le Riche, the Commandant of Kârikâl, at once to tie *tôranams* in Tirunallâr, etc., to take possession and seize the kâr paddy stored there. M. Le Riche has accordingly tied *tôranams* in the 40 villages.' I said, 'Last year when the English surrounded and attacked

[1] The Muharram.

Pondichery, they paid 25,000 chakrams for the Tirunallâr and Pôlagam countries mortgaged to us and took possession of them. But this year God has been pleased to give us full possession of Kôttaichêri and other places besides the Tirunallâr and Pôlagam countries. There is no one in India or Europe so fortunate as you.' I praised him thus.

Madanânda Pandit interpreted Chandâ Sâhib's letter as follows:—'You will have received the inam parwâna granting Tirunallâr, etc., near Kârikâl in jaghir. I have told M. Duquesne to write to the Commandant of Kârikâl to tie *tôranams* in those villages and take possession of them. He has written accordingly; and they will have taken possession of them and written to that effect. I advised him to do so without delay as you will thereby gain two lakhs of rupees by the kâr paddy stored in those places in Chôlamandalam[1] and the paddy now being harvested. So out of these jaghirs added to Kârikâl you will gain two lakhs of rupees. I am now camped within three miles of Tanjore. By God's grace the kâr paddy is stored in the country and the *pisânam*[2] will be ready for harvest in January. In twenty days a large sum of money will be received.

'The Tanjore Râjâ told Manôji Appâ not to fight and said he was willing to pay a large sum;

[1] *I.e.*, Tanjore. See *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. *Coromandel*.

[2] A finer kind of paddy sown in July, August or September and harvested six months later.

but for all his words Manôji insisted that he should fight and has encamped against us. Manôji Appâ is a fool thus to disobey the Râjâ. He opposes me in spite of knowing that I have your assistance, because he is destined to evil. By God's grace, I will take the Tanjore fort, and send you word of my rejoicings. You have advanced two months' pay to M Duquesne and others, and a month's pay to Muzaffar Khân; M. Duquesne and the other Europeans must receive their pay on the 15th of Muharram.[1] Muzaffar Khân's troops must also be paid. If the Europeans and Muzaffar Khân's people are given a month's pay, I will repay M. Duquesne out of the Tanjore money which I expect to receive in 20 days.'

When Madanânda Pandit thus interpreted the letter, the Governor said, 'I have sent 25,000 rupees for the pay of the Europeans; Muzaffar Khân can wait 20 days for the pay of his sepoys.'

He observed, 'M. Duquesne writes that there are many temples in Tanjore and that the streets, roads, topes and general fertility excel those of Europe. Is it so fine a place?'—I replied, 'It is indeed. We say that there is no country like Chôlamandalam within 1,000 or 2,000 leagues, nay, in the whole world. You may go through Trichinopoly for 48 leagues, and it used to yield a revenue of 50 lakhs or even a crore; but now only 25 or 30 lakhs.

[1] *I.e.*, December 26.

The Tanjore country is but 20 leagues across and used to yield a crore of revenue. There is no country like it. Throughout the land the roads along which the cars are drawn are planted with avenues of coconuts. There are rows of fine houses with temples, mantapams, agrahârams and well-built pandals, such as must be seen to be imagined. Moreover every village has one or two canals always breast-deep with water from the Cauveri. Not a hundred feet of ground is untilled. The whole country is cultivated. It is level throughout and its water-channels are as the lines on a man's hand.' When I described it thus, M. Friell asked if I had seen it. I replied, 'I have seen that part of it which lies on the way to Kârikâl; but I have always heard that the rest of the country is just the same. So I know what it is like.' The Governor said, 'In that case the revenues of the Villiyanallûr and other pargannahs granted as a jaghir for Pondichery, and of Tirunallâr and other countries granted for Kârikâl will suffice to maintain the Pondichery and Kârikâl forts, so that the Company need send nothing out.' I replied, 'Pondichery and Kârikâl cost about 60,000 pagodas a year;[1]

[1] According to the *État Général des dépenses*, dated February 17, 1747 (*Arch. des Cols.*) the sanctioned expenditure at Pondichery was 436,970 livres and at Kârikâl 105,851 livres Together the expenses of the two settlements would equal a little over 70,000 pagodas. The revenues from the new grants near Pondichery and Kârikâl were in 1753 reckoned at 2,40,000 rupees (*Mémoire* of 1753. P.R.). In 1751-52 they appear to have realized 2 lakhs; but that was the highest figure reached (*Mémoire pour la Compagnie Contre le Marquis de Dupleix, pièces justificatives* 14, C and D).

but these will yield more.'—'Will they yield three lakhs of rupees?' he asked. 'A little less,' I replied.

He then said, 'When I was at Mortândi Choultry, the wind gave me an intolerable head-ache, so I came back; but even now it is unbearable. Just feel my forehead.' I and M. Friell felt it and said, 'True, it is fiery hot.' The Governor then said that Chandâ Sâhib would get 50 lakhs of rupees from Tanjore. I said that he would get more. M. Friell said, 'What about the rain we had recently?' The Governor replied that it would be good for millet, ragi, etc. I said, 'I hear that it rained only on the coast and that it was not so heavy inland.' The Governor said, 'I saw clouds over Gingee and thereabouts, and it poured with rain.'

At the beginning of our conversation, he said, 'The mortgage amounts have not been received. Only one or two thousand rupees have been paid. The Chidambaram man who took a receipt and promised to send 20,000 rupees has sent nothing. Why is that? Can't he be kept from taking food till he pays?' I replied that I had kept him in custody at the Choultry, and scolded him severely for his misconduct, and repeated what I had written about it. I added, 'The money will be paid the day after to-morrow. There has been a dispute as to whether it was to be paid in Pondichery or Arcot rupees. Two thousand rupees have been paid on account of Tirukkôyilûr and Villupuram. But little

money will come in before January. The first crop was carried away by Chandâ Sâhib's people, and for a month and a half from the date of the mortgage no money can be expected. The little that comes in will just suffice for the expenses. I need not say more about it; you know it from the daily news which your writer, Ranga Pillai, sends you about the revenues of the Villiyanallûr and Bâhûr pargannahs.' When I spoke thus in detail, he listened but said nothing.

Madame and other Europeans then arrived from Mortândi Choultry. I took leave, went to the nut-godown, and then came home at nine.

Chinna Parasurâman, Muttu Mallâ Reddi's gumastah, Pâpu Reddi and his shroff Abaranji Chetti, paid this evening 20,000 rupees to the Governor's writer, Ranga Pillai and his younger brother, Muttayyan, on account of the 40,000 rupees which Muttu Mallâ Reddi has agreed to pay the Governor. I heard this from the shroff who delivered the amount. I also heard that dhoolies had been engaged to carry his family home on their release to-morrow afternoon.

When I came away after speaking to the Governor at his house this evening, I heard five or six shroffs weighing money in writer Ranga Pillai's godown where the money was counted and kept. Moreover Chinna Parasurâman, Vîrarâghavan and others were gathered there. I write this as the affair has now been settled.

Sunday, December 21.[1]—I went to the Governor this morning. He called me as soon as he had taken coffee after hearing mass at the church, and asked what was said in Chandâ Sâhib's letter that came yesterday, as it had to be answered. I replied that he had written that we should tie *tôranams* in the Tirunallâr, etc., villages near Kârikâl (for which the parwâna has been written) and take possession, as at present two years' revenue might be got out of them. Immediately he told me to reply as follows :—'The parwâna has been received, *tôranams* have been tied, and we have taken possession. But your parwâna is not sufficient. The Tanjore Râjâ's parwâna is also needed and you should get it signed and sealed when you settle the Tanjore affair. You write that the villages contain at present two years' revenue. I do not think so. You also write that you will send me your congratulations when you capture the fort of Tanjore. I pray God to bless you with your desire. I have sent the Europeans' pay in advance, knowing that money is scarce now; but you can pay Muzaffar Khân's sepoys yourself, as you will have money in 20 days and I will order him to wait till then; but meanwhile give him a little. I am labouring whole-heartedly and without respite in your interests. Till now about 10,000 rupees have been spent in the villages mortgaged by you.' He told me to write thus with compliments.

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[1] *10th Mârgali, Sukla.*

I then said, 'I took the mint contract[1] and you ordered me to coin rupees $1\frac{1}{4}$ fanams' weight[2] heavier and of the Pondichery touch and weight. They are accordingly being coined and I have received ten rupees. It should be written that only these rupees are to pass instead of the old ones of a lower touch and that this should be proclaimed throughout the country. I will send four rupees.' He told me to write accordingly and send them. So I wrote and sent the letter with four rupees by the messenger who came thence. I ordered ten of these rupees to be given to M. Le Maire to see if their touch and weight were equal to those of the rupees coined at the Pondichery mint. M. Le Maire accordingly tested five rupees and said that they were right. They were distinguished by the mark of a sun according to orders. He looked at it and said, 'That is all right; but if they are so big, Pondichery rupees will not pass so well; so the breadth should be lessened without reducing the weight.' I agreed. M. Le Maire said that, as they had the same mark as the Pondichery coins[3] with the addition of a dot, people would refuse them. But the Governor pointed out that the two marks were quite different. I said that, as these were

[1] The succeeding passage shows that this does not refer to the Pondichery mint. I suppose it refers to some mint in the new French concessions, possibly Villiyanallûr.

[2] The fanam-weight at Pondichery was one-ninth of a pagoda-weight or almost 6 grs. Troy (the Crescent pagoda weighing 53 grs. Troy).

[3] The Pondichery mint-mark was a Crescent.

equal to the Pondichery rupees, the mint people might be ordered to go on coining them thus. He repeated this to M. Le Maire and ordered me to tell the shroffs. M. Le Maire asked, 'What if they lower the touch of the coins?' I replied, 'Then they will be refused.'—'True,' the Governor said, and gave the orders.

The Governor then complained that the Company's goods had not been baled. I replied, 'According to the rate at which you have fixed the rupee, 1,20,000 pagodas have been advanced. Up to the last day of Purattâsi, goods worth 41,000 and odd pagodas were brought in. The goods now baled are worth 4,000 and odd pagodas—in all goods worth 40,000 pagodas [*sic*] have been brought in. About 33,000 pagodas have been advanced to the godowns, the washers, the stamping place and the Fort; and the balance is on hand. About 40[000] pagodas are yet due on the cloth investment. That is how the account of the 120[000] is made up. Regarding the lakh of rupees ordered to be paid to Chandâ Sâhib, the copper pledged has realized the amount all but 8,000 and odd pagodas.' The Governor said that he would speak to M. Cornet about it and pay in what was due beyond the produce of the copper. He added that I must get goods brought in at once. I replied that pagodas were coming in on account of the copper sales, and that by the middle of March goods for the 10,000 pagodas would be packed and

despatched by the ships. As for the coarse blue-cloth, cloth to the value of 9,000 pagodas had been brought in on account of the advances, and the balance must be accounted for.[1] This has been added to the copper business for which money is coming in, and which was deferred because copper was scarce. But the whole affair will be settled by January or February [ ].

Monday, December 22.[2]—As cloth was being sorted at the Fort this morning, I stayed there till ten o'clock till all was packed. Afterwards M. Cornet gave me accounts written in August last for the cooly I had paid for the rewashing of the cloth, for the chintz taken at Madras on its capture and given to the painters to be finished, and for the cooly I paid the Company's washers for washing white cloth. He showed me also an order on M. Guillard for these sums, so I signed an acknowledgment that I had received them. For 133 pagodas and about 10 fanams, M. Guillard gave me 427½ rupees.[3] I took them, went to the Governor's, and reported that 38 bales had been sorted and baled.

He then said there had been no news for four or five days about the Tanjore affair. I replied that although no letters had come, I had heard the following news from travellers:—Manôji Appâ raised a battery in the middle of the Mâriyamman

[1] Reading *sellu vênum* for *sengal vênum*.

[2] *11th Mârgali, Sukla.*

[3] At the rate of 320 rupees per 100 pagodas.

temple outside the Fort of Tanjore, and camped there with 4,000 horse and 30,000 foot, 500 or 600 English and Dutch,[1] with the English flag and guns, powder, shot, etc. Our people attacked it on Wednesday last and captured it, on which defeat the Tanjoreans fled. When I spoke thus, he said, 'They cannot stand and fight. We shall have news to-day or to-morrow.'

M. Elias' son has petitioned the Governor, complaining that Pûmalattâ Chetti and Chinnayyan had cheated him in the sale of M. Elias' brown cloth; so the Governor sent for the Second, and told him to enquire into and settle the matter, adding, 'There is no sense in this complaint. M. Elias is old and has written nonsense. Besides who can complain 6 months after he has paid the brokerage, written out the sale accounts, and packed and sent off the cloth by the ships?' So saying he dismissed him.

I then came home as it was past twelve. I had bathed and was about to eat my food, when two messengers brought letters from M. Duquesne at the camp before Tanjore. The Governor sent a peon for me as soon as he had read the letter, so I ate in haste and went to him at half-past two. On seeing me, he said, 'M. Duquesne has written from camp. You were right in saying that there had been a fight.' He then related the news in the

[1] About 20 Europeans were sent to Tanjore to assist in the defence. It is very possible that there were some Dutchmen among them.

letter as follows:—'When our troops, encamped at the Mâriyamman temple, attacked the Tanjore army encamped opposite in three divisions, consisting of 4,000 horse, 30,000 foot and 500 English and Dutch soldiers with an English flag, the enemy scattered and fled in all directions. Some horsemen and soldiers, and some of the English and Dutch who came to their help and were in garrison there were killed. When our people took the English flag, the enemy begged for quarter. This was granted, and then we advanced swiftly and seized a gateway of the fort of Tanjore.[1] The Râjâ and others, being much alarmed, grew angry with Manôji and told him he should never have fought when they were treating, and complained that he was risking the whole kingdom. The Râjâ then sent some Marathas to treat with M. Duquesne and peace may be concluded.'

He then told me to write congratulatory letters to Chandâ Sâhib and Nawâb Muzaffar Jang, saying that M. Duquesne had sent a full account of his successful attack on Tanjore and that he (the Governor) was greatly pleased and felt sure that the fort of Tanjore would be taken. Letters were written according to the Governor's orders and despatched by the two messengers who came from

[1] This version is at variance with that generally accepted, according to which certain posts outside the town were seized on December 18; envoys were sent out next day; and Duquesne only seized one of the gates of the city on December 28.

M. Duquesne. They were given a present of ten rupees.

After six o'clock this evening two camel-people from Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân and two from Chandâ Sâhib, four in all, came with congratulatory letters like M. Duquesne's about the victory at Tanjore. The Governor sent for me, and, giving me the letters, told me to interpret them. They contained the same news as M. Duquesne's letter—the fight with the Tanjoreans, their retreat, our advance and capture of the entrance to the Tanjore fort, the grant of terms, and our demand of a crore of rupees as the condition of peace, with compliments. When I reported their contents to the Governor, his joy was indescribable.

As a letter reporting the victory at Tanjore was also received from camp for despatch to 'Alî Naqî Sâhib of Wandiwash by a camel-man, I sent it along with a letter of congratulations from myself to Taqî Sâhib, speaking in similar terms of the victory of Tanjore. I got 120 rupees from Mudippiri Muttukumara Pillai and gave them as a present to the four camel-people according to the Governor's orders. I told one of these to set out at day-break to-morrow with the letters for Wandiwash.

Wednesday, December 24.[1]—When I went to the Governor at ten o'clock this morning, I related to him the contents of 'Alî Naqî Sâhib's letter as

[1] *13th Mârgali, Sukla.*

follows :—'I took leave of you and accompanied His Highness Chandâ Sâhib. After affairs at Udaiyârpâlaiyam, Ariyalûr, Vâlikondâpuram, and with Husain Sâhib's son had been settled, I took leave of Chandâ Sâhib and his son, Razâ Sâhib, and went to Tyâgar, where I visited Imâm Sâhib's son, who is under your protection, and settled his affairs according to your letter. Then I went to Wandiwash to prostrate myself at my father's feet. When I left Chandâ Sâhib, he spoke to me of certain secret matters and asked me to report them to you. I cannot write of them in a letter but must speak of them in person. I shall therefore collect a few troops and come to Pondichery ; and you will decide what should be done when I have informed you of the matter. The low people who have risen must be subdued.' When I reported this, he told me to write inviting him hither and saying, 'I am much obliged by your letter stating that you have settled about Imâm Sâhib's son's killa and jaghir, as he is under our protection. If any have long befriended us, it is our nature and religious duty to show gratitude to their children and to regard their business as ten times greater than our own. As Imâm Sâhib's son's affair is more important than our own, I am very grateful for your great care therein. If you march with an army, do not bring it here but let it halt at a distance.' Such a letter was written with compliments, sealed, and despatched by 'Alî Naqî Sâhib's man.

I informed the Governor of it. He asked if I knew why he intended to bring troops with him. I said that it was to reduce the man at Chêtpattu[1] and get a large sum of money. 'I think so too,' he said.

The Governor gave M. Delarche for translation into French the congratulatory letters from Chandâ Sâhib and Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân reporting M. Duquesne's victory over the Tanjore army. M. Delarche omitted Chandâ Sâhib's remark, that it was strange that not only had the English and Dutch fled, but those who surrendered delivered their flag to our people. Madanânda Pandit therefore went to him this morning, got this inserted, and gave it to me. When I gave it to the Governor, he read it and said, 'Your interpretation of Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân's letter does not agree with his translation. You said he wrote that it was his good fortune to have joined us, that it was his enemies' evil fate not to have done so, at which they now are troubled, and that his good fortune, assuming my form, had defeated the enemy and would bring him success; but I find nothing like that here.' I replied, 'One phrase in his letter gives all that meaning, and I interpreted it accordingly.'—'But,' said he, 'nothing of the sort is said here.' I replied, 'Perhaps he forgot it.' Thereupon he told me to have Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân's letter translated by M. Le Beaume. I said

[1] *I.e.* Mîr Asad.

I would do so; and when I came away, Madanânda Pandit said, 'He would not insert it in spite of my requests. When Nâsîr Jang comes, he will tear asunder any one who dares even to name Chandâ Sâhib or Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân before him. Then we shall see what befalls those who rejoice now and pride themselves on the assistance they have given.' I cannot describe his fear. He added, 'If you get it translated by M. Le Beaume and give it to the Governor, the latter will send for [M. Delarche] and scold him. He will accuse me; and I shall have to say that he would not write it in spite of my request; so we shall become enemies.' Thus the Brâhman showed his vexation. He added [ ].

Friday, December 26.[1]—As soon as the Governor returned from the Church, a letter was received from Safdar Husain Khân, Killedar of Kalavai, with some plantains, and earthenware goglets, etc.—100 articles in all. Having read my letter, I interpreted the Governor's which was written as follows, after many compliments upon the glory won by the Governor with the help of those under him, 'Formerly I drew out a plan of a fort on a sheet of paper, showing the several defences with the positions of the cannon, guns, magazines, barracks, etc., and sent it to Nawâb Âsaf Jâh. He was greatly pleased with it, and put it with his papers; but as he then marched northwards and subsequently died,

[1] 15th Mârgali, Sukla.

he never carried out the plan. I drew out another plan and gave it to Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân; he also was pleased with it, but has done nothing Please speak to Chandâ Sâhib who has now become master of the Carnatic, and do what may be necessary. I will send the plan of the fort, etc., by my vakîl. Please tell Chandâ Sâhib to act accordingly, divide the army as suggested therein, appoint me commander of the troops, and settle my business I showed it to M. d'Auteuil and M. Law when they were here and they may have spoken to you of it.' After translating this, I showed the Governor, the plantains, and the goglets, etc., made of white earth, sent by Safdar Husain Khân. He was highly pleased and asked me to give 20 rupees to those who had brought them.

He then sent for M. d'Auteuil and asked him if he had seen the plan of the fort. He said he had and praised it highly. Thereupon the Governor told me to reply as follows:—'I am extremely pleased to receive the plantains, etc., with your letter, and am much gratified with the different sorts of fruit which you have been pleased to send. As for the fort, I will do what may be necessary when I have received the plan from the vakîl and will write further. M. d'Auteuil is always praising you and sends his salaams.' He ordered me to write such a letter, and have it sealed and despatched.

I then said, 'We seized Paiyambâdi and other places as they adjoined the Reddis' lands. Hearing

this, Hirâsat Khân wrote requesting us to restore them. I will write to him that orders have already been passed for their restoration.' 'Do so,' he said. I therefore wrote letters to these two and had them despatched.

I then said I had heard that Muttu Bôlam Reddi, Muttu Mallâ Reddi's younger brother, had made a good haul. He said, 'Let everyone understand that he is in charge of affairs there and at the same time contrive to get money from him. With what they paid yesterday, the whole amount of 40,000 rupees has been made up. So I have ordered the release of his family and children. Don't appear to be acting in this business, but let people think that his brother is acting of himself in order to secure his share. The country is to be delivered to the younger brother, so see that you manage well and get some money out of it. Let me have what you have received till now, including to-day.' I then came home, as though to get some papers, and fetched the money.

I hear that his children imprisoned in the Choultry godown have been released, that Chinna Parasurâman took them to his house, made them bathe, bestowed money, etc., on Brâhmans, anointed the temple god, and then gave a feast to Muttu Mallâ Reddi's wife, children and sister, though he was always boasting to Madame and the Governor that he had got the largest possible amount from him for their release. Virâgu who sold without shame a

holy image for 30 pieces of silver, and who helped him in this affair, is also said to be in great spirits. I afterwards heard that Chinna Parasurâman had written a cadjan to Muttayyan at Chidambaram, saying that he must come to Pondichery as his presence was required for the splendid celebration of the Pongal festival that was intended. He is chattering like a drunken monkey, and running to and fro, mad with joy at having completed this long business. A man who can destory a kingdom with a word does such things as this daily and never speaks of them to others or boasts as though they were great affairs; whereas to him who has begged in vain for a morsel of rice, *manakattai*[1] will seem like nectar. As in the whole course of his life this is the only affair he has managed, his success has naturally gone to his head and he is raving like a mad man.

The Governor sent for me [ ].

M. Barnewall and an Englishman arrived this afternoon from Pulicat. The Governor called me and said, 'Porto Novo lascars have stolen some catamarans from Covelong; as six Portuguese ships have to be brought here, write to the faujdar of Porto Novo to provide what is needed, boat-people, etc., to bring them, and to seize and beat the lascars and recover the stolen catamarans.' I wrote accordingly.

He again sent for me at twelve o'clock and said, 'Letters sent from camp on the 15th have not

[1] See vol. iv., p. 232, n. 2, *ante*.

arrived. I hear that they have been waylaid by robbers, but the tappal-people have said nothing about it. Find out where it happened and let me know.' I agreed. I came home at noon for my food and the Governor did not send for me this afternoon.

Mahârâja Râja [*sic*] Srî Madame Avargal wrote to me as follows[1]:—'I write to you because you have not come here for three days. I formerly told you that Sunguvâr must be told to find security before his departure for his debt to Rangan, the assayer. How is it that he is preparing to depart without doing so? When I spoke to the Governor about it in the time of Pedro Mudaliyâr, he said that I ought to be paid, but desired me to wait till the accounts had been settled. Now the assayer, Rangan, has ordered Venkatanâranappa Ayyan to collect the amount, so he is managing the affair. I will send you all the bonds, and you must get me the amount. I well know the Tamils' deceit and misdeeds. If I should in anger tell the truth, many would be punished. Beware.'

On November 15, Madame sent me four bonds, one given by Sunguvâr to Dimmâsayyan of the Madras mint, two bonds executed by Venkatanâranappa Ayyan pledging this document for 2,500 rupees to Madame Dupleix, and another agreeing to pay a quarter to the Governor—with a message saying that Lakshmi Nâyakkan and others should

[1] The following letter must have been written on or before November 15.

only depart after they had paid the amount. At twelve o'clock to-day, Madame Dupleix sent her chobdar Muhammad Husain to get these bonds. Madanânda Pandit and others were with me, so I showed chobdar Muhammad Husain these four bonds and sent him away with them.

Saturday, December 27.[1]—Chinna Parasurâman who is standing surety for Muttu Mallâ Reddi and has provided him with money, his pupil Vîrarâghavan the gambler, and Appu asked the Governor to send for Muttu Mallâ Reddi's paddy, etc., accounts and check the entry of payments. When I went to him this morning, he told me to bring them. I said I would do so. There was nothing else of importance.

At six o'clock this evening I told the Governor that Bâlâji Pandit had sent by four bullocks 20,000 Cuddalore rupees due on account of the Chidambaram mortgage. He asked me to examine it to-morrow morning and deliver it to his writer. I agreed and came away.

There arrived to-day Tahsildar Venkata Râo's letter of yesterday, saying that Villupuram Îswara Ayyan died at Kalkurichi on the night of Tuesday, the 12th [ ], there being then a full-moon and a lunar eclipse. He had two grown-up sons, Nârâyana Sâstri and Nîlakantha Ayyan and, though he was 80 at his death, he went on making money to the last and continued to exercise all paternal

[1] *16th Mârgali, Sukla.*

authority, so that no one knows anything about his sons. The Muhammadans respected him for his honesty, sincerity and prudent conduct; we have still to learn his sons' characters.

Sunday, December 28.[1]—The Governor slept till half-past eight this morning, and then accompanied his family to Church to hear mass. I saw him on his return.

According to his orders, I told Bâlâji Pandit and my Chidambara Mudali to examine and deliver to Muttayyan, younger brother of Ranga Pillai, the Governor's writer, the 20,000 rupees, brought yesterday on account of the Chidambaram mortgage. Then I went to the nut-godown, sent for the Company's merchants, ordered them strictly to bring to my house the money for Chidambaram and [Tiruppâppuliyûr] as soon as possible, and having dismissed them, came home at noon.

This afternoon, Bâlâji Pandit and Chidambara Mudali had the money examined by the shroffs and delivered it. Then they came to me and said, 'We paid in 15,000 and odd Cuddalore rupees[2] and 4,000 and odd Chidambaram rupees—20,000 in all; but, as the shroffs demanded batta at $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on account of the difference between Cuddalore and Pondichery rupees, only 19,600 and odd rupees has

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[1] *17th Mârgali, Sukla.*

[2] The English opened a mint at Cuddalore early in 1747, in consequence of the loss of Madras. *Pub. Des. to Eng.*, May 2, 1747, and S. Foxall to the Company, n.d. (*I.O. Misc. Ltrs. Recd.* 1747–48, No. 118).

been credited in the accounts, the batta coming to 300 and odd. We said we would write to Mudâmiah, younger brother of Lâl Khân of Chidambaram, get the amount and complete the sum of the 20,000 rupees.' I then told Bâlâji Pandit and others to go home for their food.

I hear that the Râjâ of Tanjore, despairing because his counsellors had brought matters to such a pass, and preferring death to the loss of his fort and country, has fallen upon the French, Chandâ Sâhib and Muzaffar Jang, who had crossed the ditch and seized the entrance to the fort, and driven them back to the Mâriyamman temple, where they still remain, discussing terms. I also hear that, in return for the presents Nâsîr Jang sent to Fort St. David, hey have prepared a present for him, including a tent of broad-cloth with a red-velvet lining. Petrus and other Armenians have left Madras for Pulicat on account of some quarrel. M. Barnewall, M. La Métrie and other Frenchmen with the Christians, Tamils and even the Capuchins have also gone away, and only the merchants and some others are staying on account of what is due to them. For 121 years they wrought doing more and more injustice, till at last their power came to an end, and now can hardly be restored. I think perpetual disturbances will prevent its restoration; but all depends on the will of God.

As there was to be a ball at the Governor's house to-night, the whole house was lit up. He has

not danced since he became Governor, but, as he intends to go to Europe in October next, and as to-day is the fourth day after the birth of God, they danced in honour of the festival—an unusual thing. [.]

Monday, December 29.[1]—The Governor slept till eleven o'clock to-day, dressed at noon and sat down to table; so I could not speak to him and came home. He went out driving this afternoon, and, returning home at six o'clock, sent for me. When I went, he said, 'The shroffs say the 20,000 rupees on account of Chidambaram may be accepted with 270 rupees extra as batta. Let them take back the money and pay the amount in eight days in Pondichery rupees.'

Two thousand rupees have been received from Kalkurichi in low-touch fanams, and I told the Governor that I would change them into rupees and pay in the produce to-morrow.

The Second then came and said, 'A complaint was brought against the Killedar of Gingee for having neither recovered the goods that were stolen nor repaid the quarter-share (250 pagodas) given him on that account. I have already spoken about this and it should be settled.' I said, 'When the matter was partly discussed, they declared that they would settle the matter themselves and recover the money from the poligar. He got the thief

[1] *18th Mârgali, Sukla.*

released, took charge of him, and went away, having written a receipt for the money given to him.' He replied, 'Inquire about it to-morrow morning. I have also appointed you to settle the adoption dispute with shroff Muttukumarappa Chetti. So see to it.' I agreed. I was told not to admit that the disputed property was the bride-gift but to leave it uncertain whether it was bride-gift or bride-price.[1] I then went to the nut-godown.

The son of the Killedar of Gingee came and told me the Second had sent for him. I repeated to him what the Second had said, and dismissed him, asking him to come to the Fort to-morrow morning.

When I summoned the Mahânâttârs according to the Governor's orders and told them to settle the dispute between Âsârappa Mudali's wife and his younger brother Dairiya Mudali, Lakshmana Nâyakkan, Sankara Ayyar, Sungu Mutturâma Chetti, Sêshâchala Chetti, Chittambala Chetti and others came with a cadjan writing which ran as follows:— Dairiya Mudali declares that the disputed property cannot be bride-gift; but Malayappa Mudali, attorney of Âsârappa Mudali's wife, declares that it cannot be called bride-price. I said to the Mahânâttârs, 'Suits are usually decided in favour of one party only, the one demand being just and the other unjust. I have never seen or heard of

[1] The account is obscure. Apparently the dispute related to the marriage of an adopted child. A bride-gift is property presented to the bride by her family; a bride-price is presented to the bride by the husband's family.

persons like you who decide in favour of both. It is the first time I have ever met with such a thing. If I take a definite part, the priests and others will say that I favour Kanakarâya Mudali's people and that I am at the bottom of this suit. These are not times when justice flourishes, so any words of mine would be misunderstood. I will tell the Governor immediately. Come to-morrow.' So saying, I dismissed them. Chinna Mudali [told] them that, if they found the property to be bride-gift 15,000 pagodas would be obtained.

Tuesday, December 30.[1]—At half-past six this evening the Governor sent for me and asked if Muttu Mallâ Reddi's paddy, etc., accounts had been received. I said they had, and that I would compare them with our accounts and bring the sale money and the accounts together. The Governor said, 'You are taking no trouble to settle this promptly because the matter was not entrusted to you; hence all this delay.' I replied, 'Sir, if you say so, what can I do but ascribe it to my ill-fortune? Muttu Mallâ Reddi's younger brother addressed you through Madame and tried his best to seize Muttu Mallâ Reddi; but, as the latter escaped, his wife and children were brought and imprisoned. Then the younger brother, who had done so much in that affair, died[2] and you and

[1] *19th Mârgali, Sukla.*

[2] I cannot reconcile this with other statements unless this was a third brother not previously mentioned.

Madame lost all hope about it. Muttu Mallâ Reddi tried four or five times to settle the affair through Chinna Parasurâman and lame Savarimuttu, but did not succeed. He then tried to get Anwar-ud-dîn Khân to help him with an army;[1] and then gave up all hopes of recovering his wife. When Anwar-ud-dîn Khân perished and Chandâ Sâhib became the Subahdar, he tried again, but in vain. When he heard of Nâsîr Jang's marching, he went to Chingleput, and conferred with Hukumat Râo, Sampâti Râo's younger brother. Again failing, he went to Madras. I informed you of this at the time, and you said that he might be brought to terms if I took up the lease of Tindivanam, seized his grain and cattle and prepared to sell them. I took the lease accordingly and sold them. He then approached me through Sêshâchala Chetti. But I answered that it was not my affair and that he had to settle with Madame. They offered to pay 40,000 rupees to you and 5,000 to me—45,000 rupees in all; but when I told you, you ordered me to let it be settled through Madame. They did so, and obtained the release of his family. You told me to refund the sale proceeds of the paddy, cattle, etc., give in the accounts, sell nothing more and restore the goods still unsold, and promised that I should be compensated for the loss of the paddy,

[1] He also tried to induce the English to intervene (see *Country Correspondence*, 1749, p 12); but news of a suspension of arms had already been received, and the English could only make platonic representations to Dupleix who simply ignored them.

etc., stolen from my villages, that Muttu Mallâ Reḍḍi should have nothing to do with Tindivanam, that his younger brother should be appointed poligar, and that I should collect the money and manage the revenues as I liked. This I have done. How then can I be charged with delay or carelessness? I have earned nothing but their displeasure by what I have done; they have come to terms, and even the mediators have got something for their share. Till now I have ever been mindful of your profit, regardless of blame falling upon me. If you now blame me, what can I do but regret my ill-fortune? The fault must be my own.' He grew somewhat angry and told me to give in Muttu Mallâ Reddi's accounts and the sale produce, and settle the affair. I said I would do so to-day or to-morrow.

He then said that the whole town was complaining that I was forcing people to present mohurs for the New Year. I replied, 'You said that it was not well for cloth to be brought you, and that people should bring either mohurs or pagodas, so I obtained mohurs from you for them to present to you. I did this solely for you, and I gained not a single cash. In spite of all the trouble I have taken in the execution of your orders, I am thought ill of. For the last three years, Madame has been sending for the bazaar-people and even the coolies, and asking them what they give me. It is usual with us for the bridegroom to make a settlement upon

his bride at the time of the marriage; and she enquired into that also. If I had got a cash in these ways, I could not have lived here half an hour. Madame enquired and complained. You also made enquiries and you know that my accusers charged me falsely; it is my ill-fortune that you should now speak thus of me.' The Governor was displeased at my speaking so fearlessly.

He then asked if the coarse blue-cloth were ready. I said that it was nearly so. He continued, 'You owe the Company a sum of pagodas and promised to pay 5,000 pagodas a year. Now you have leased Tiruviti, Bhuvanagiri, etc., six or seven pargannahs in all--and you will gain much therefrom. Besides, Chandâ Sâhib gave you five villages as an inam, from which you will gain about 10,000 rupees; you will be able this year to make good all your losses. Pay 5,000 pagodas as you have promised, or something more, out of your profits and thus clear yourself.' I replied, 'What you say is true; if everything goes on well till September, and the collections are got in without arrears, I shall make a profit; but if there are arrears, I shall scarcely be able to pay the rent. As you say, I shall make a profit if the rain is as plentiful as last year; but for lack of rain the sambâ crop is not promising, and I do not know what profit there will be. You know what my debts are. Owing to the English disturbances, trade is at a stand still

At Porto Novo alone I am owed about 15,000 pagodas for my houses [ ].'

I washed my face at sunrise this morning, put on holy ash, and sat down. Ganapati Pillai, the writer at the washing ford, came and said that he had heard from some one in Chinna Mudali's house as true news that Varlâm, Dairiyam and one or two others were saying there that the Europe ships had arrived at Mascareigne with a new Governor and Councillors on board, and that the ships would arrive [here] by the end of this month or in January; that when they arrived, there would be a change of government and they would bring an order appointing Dairiya Mudali dubâsh, and strange things would be seen in a month. He said that they talked thus with laughter, and that they also spoke of secret matters. I replied, 'Good! A man surely gets what he is destined to receive. Do I depend upon this post? Am I not a merchant as well? Some one may hold the post nominally. The Governor himself appointed me and ordered me to attend to all the business. I did not seek the post. If it be given to him, it will be well; I shall be relieved of much trouble.' I then asked him who told him the news. He said that it was Paramunâtha Pillai. I answered, 'Good; the brown cloth received yesterday at the Fort from Kârikâl must be given to the washers, so you had better go.' So saying I dismissed him.

Then I spoke with some people from Tiruviti; and afterwards went to the Fort, as cloth was being sorted, had 45 bales packed, stayed there till eleven o'clock, and went to M. Cornet's to settle accounts with him. When I was talking with him, two or three of the Governor's peons came. Immediately I took leave of M. Cornet and went to the Governor's. He had just heard that English soldiers had been seized at Bâhûr, one of the Company's villages, by the Company's peons, and that thereupon an English officer and 100 English soldiers, sepoys, etc., had entered Bâhûr fort and carried off the two English soldiers who had deserted from Fort St. David. The Governor sent for me to interpret the statements of the people who had come from Bâhûr, so that M. Boyelleau, the Secretary of the Council, might write a letter to be sent to Fort St. David; and he told me to sit beside M. Boyelleau, so that he could write down the statements from my interpretation.[1] Accordingly, I, M. Bertrand and M. Boyelleau sat in M. Bertrand's writing room, [and having sent for] the people from Bâhûr [ ].

Wednesday, December 31.[2]—As brown cloth was being sorted at the Fort this morning, I went there, and then to the Governor's. He talked about

[1] This affair gave rise to the first of these tedious controversies between the English and the French Councils, in which each side strove to prove that it had technical right, while studiously avoiding the real issues.

[2] *20th Mârgali, Sukla.*

Tanjore and other affairs, and then asked if the English had gone mad that they should enter our limits and seize people. I said that otherwise they would not have done so, and added, 'After Sungu Venkatâchala Chetti's sons' marriages were celebrated at Fort St. David, their gardens were destroyed when Mr. Pitt and Mr. Benyon were Governors, but orders have been received from Europe about the sale of Chintâdripêt, that 4,000 pagodas are to be given to Venkatâchala Chetti's sons for the garden, besides an agreement for the supply of 10,000 pagodas' worth of goods and the privilege of using torches publicly.'[1] He then asked about Teliya Singa Chetti, younger brother of Tambu Chetti. I replied that he had also been given a contract and that they intended allowing him a palankin and torches, like his eldest brother. I also told him what they had had to spend to get this.

When he had listened to this, he mentioned the arrival of Saiyid Lashkar Khân at Raichûr and his plundering; looking at a map from the Kistna to

[1] Sungu Venkatâchalam, better known as Sungu Râma, was the principal Company's merchant in the early part of the eighteenth century at Madras. He possessed the ground on which the weaving settlement of Chintâdripêt was built; but his title was held to be invalid, as the grant had been made by the Governor only, instead of by the Governor and Council. This caused a quarrel between Sungu Râma and the Company; he declined to complete his contracts; and was finally cast in damages. He died in 1736. Ten years later, on a petition from his son, Venkatarâma, the Company directed the fine to be refunded (*Pub. Des. from Eng.*, May 7, 1746). Ranga Pillai's account is thus inaccurate in many details.

Cape Comorin he found Raichûr, Adoni, etc., and Tanjore fort; and talked about them.

Then M. L'Hostie came and asked the Governor for a letter to be written to Mudâmiah of Chidambaram for the surrender of 'Abd-ul-lah Khân and Ahmad Khân, two of Shaikh 'Abd-ul-rahmân's sepoys who have deserted. He sent for me and told me to write the letter. I wrote one and gave it to him. I have heard no other important news.

I heard to-night from people who have come from Chingleput for Nannâchi's marriage, that messengers had brought news to Zain-ud 'Alî Khân at Chingleput of Nâsîr Jang's reaching Raichûr fort and the country south of the Kistna given by the former Nizâm to Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân, and that the messengers had been given 300 rupees as a present for this glad news which had filled him with joy.

Madanânda Pandit, who had read Shaikh 'Abd-ul-rahmân's letter to M. du Bausset, reported the contents to me as follows:—'Manôji Appâ sallied out of the fort of Tanjore and fought one night, whereon many were killed and wounded on both sides. They are not performing the treaty they made for the payment of money, but are fighting again. Powder and shot have been sent for to Kârikâl; and some of the wounded have come.'

JANUARY 1750.

Thursday, January 1.[1]—As it was New Year's Day, I went to visit the Governor, but first visited Madame with a pomegranate, and prayed God to bless her with good health in the coming year. She shed tears and said, 'Pray God the Governor may remain here and not go to Europe.' I said that I prayed it might be so. Then Madame d'Auteuil, the Governor's sister-in-law, with her sons, etc., M. Friell who married her daughter, and others, came and offered their New Year wishes. To all of them the Governor replied, 'You may do this now, but you will not be able to next year,' and mournfully inquired after their health, on which they also shed tears, their minds being troubled with grief. I then went with a pomegranate, and, giving it to him, said, 'May God give you a happy New Year, bless you with long life, and continue you here to dispense happiness to us. Our forefathers knew Louis XIV who conquered the whole of Europe, and Aurangzîb the Pâdshâh of India. For sixty years we heard of none like them till we saw them again in you; so you must needs win success and glory in these lands. God has been pleased to bless you with both, and I pray He may give you long life and suffer your continuance here.' He used to answer joyfully whenever I

[1] *21st Mârgali, Sukla.* Ranga Pillai dates this '1749' by error.

praised him thus; but now he did not even look at me and remained silent as though not hearing what I said.

Madanânda Pandit, Yânâm Antannan and other Company's servants offered him limes. He accepted their gifts without looking at them. We all paid him our respects when he was going to church to hear mass. Then we all departed and went by M. Legou's house to St. Paul's church at the end of the street where the Europeans live.

He always used to say that he would never touch or receive limes if offered to him. But this year he received them, accepted our compliments and returned them suitably. Then Tânappa Mudali, Mêlugiri Pandit's son and others took their leave.

On my way to the Governor's house, I met his peon who said that he wanted me. When I arrived, the house looked deserted and miserable in spite of the great feast. The master was in a corner with a letter in his hand, looking cheerless. These eight years, I have never seen him so downcast.[1] Two peons from Taqî Sâhib brought two letters, one from 'Alî Naqî Sâhib and the other from Taqî Sâhib, with their compliments on the capture of the defences at Tanjore. When I reported this, he dismissed me telling me to see that cloth was brought in quickly. I said I would do so, and

[1] Dupleix reached Pondichery as Governor on January 13, 1742 *Correc de Pondichéry avec Bengale*, vol. ii, p. 196.

having taken leave, went to my office whence I came home as it struck twelve.

In the afternoon I went and inspected the washers' ford, went to the nut-godown, and then came home.

Friday, January 2.[1]—Nâchanna Pillai and others arrived from Chingleput to-day for Nannâchi's marriage.

The Governor sent for me this evening and said, 'The ship which sailed for Tenasserim touched at Yânâm and Masulipatam and has arrived here with cloth which must be washed at once. Send for the washers and pressers and see that it is got ready soon.' I agreed.

The Muhammadans at Tenasserim sent five packets of letters addressed to the chief man at Mylapore, Guntûr Bâlu Chetti and others. The Governor, giving them to me, asked me to have them delivered. I said, 'These five packets are intended for the people at Mylapore. If I give them to Guntûr Venkatâchala Chetti, he will send them on. There is one packet for him.' He told me to give them to him. I did so in the presence of Krishna Râo when he and Venkatâchala Chetti were in my nut-godown, telling him to take his own packet and send the rest to Mylapore. He took them accordingly and said that he would do so. I write below the names on each of the five packets.

[1] *22nd Mârgali, Sukla.*

The celebration of Nannâchi's marriage was fixed for between six and seven o'clock this evening, so I came home, gave *pân supârî* and rose-water to those who attended it, and dismissed them.

The ship that sailed for Tenasserim at six o'clock this evening is the *Brillant* and the captain's name is [ ]. The Governor gave me the letters brought by this ship and I gave them to Guntûr Venkatâchalam.

Details of the five packets from Tenasserim [ ].

Saturday, January 3.[1]—It drizzled this morning. I went to the Governor's and told him that two letters had come, one from Imâm Sâhib's son, Hasan 'Alî Khân, and the other from Mîr Asad. I reported the contents of Imâm Sâhib's son's letter as follows:—'I delivered to Chandâ Sâhib your letter of recommendation as soon as he had defeated Anwar-ud-dîn Khân and arrived at Arcot. Twenty thousand rupees was demanded on account of my killa and jaghir, at 8 annas in the rupee. I paid 9,000 rupees, and as I had no security to offer for the balance of 11,000 rupees, I thought of writing to desire you to pay it. Meanwhile 'Alî Naqî Sâhib, who had gone to the Tanjore camp, took leave and arrived at Tyâgar on his way to Wandiwash, prevented food and water from being brought in to my children, grew angry, made great demands,

[1] *23rd Mârgali, Sukla.*

and only departed after obtaining a bond for 20,000 rupees payable in one month. I wanted to write to you and give a bond after obtaining your orders, but he was so pressing that I had no time to write to you; therefore I gave the bond. Please write to Chandâ Sâhib that he may strike off 11,000 rupees from the amount he owes you and desire him to cancel the bond which 'Alî Naqî Sâhib forced from me. May my father's services and labour be remembered and serve me in good stead in this time of need, so that you may protect my house. I have neither mother nor father; there are but two of us, I and my sister; and we have cast ourselves under your care and delivered our property to you. You know that my father is dead; if you will do nothing, I must abandon my jaghir and killa, and come to you for you to do what you please with me. I can do nothing more. I am sending Qâsim who will tell you everything.' The Governor said, 'Look here, 'Alî Naqî Sâhib wrote to me that he would settle this affair as Imâm Sâhib's son was under our protection; but he has ill-treated him instead. No matter; the 20,000 rupees has not been paid, and only a bond has been given. I will have it returned to him.' He then told me to write pressingly to Chandâ Sâhib as follows:—'Of the 20,000 rupees which Imâm Sâhib's son agreed to pay for his killa and the jaghir, 9,000 rupees has already been paid, and the balance of 11,000 rupees should be entered in the account of what you owe

me; give him a receipt for the amount. When 'Alî Naqî Sâhib went to Wandiwash, he did not treat Imâm Sâhib's son with respect though he is under my protection; but he troubled him and forced from him a bond for 20,000 rupees. This paper must be cancelled and returned. I look on his business as a thousand times greater than mine, so let it be settled.' He told me to write to Imâm Sâhib's son as follows:—'Fear nothing. I have written in such and such terms to Chandâ Sâhib about your affair which will be settled accordingly; so be not troubled. I have asked Chandâ Sâhib for a receipt for 11,000 rupees which will be paid on your account. If 'Alî Naqî Sâhib's people demand the 20,000 rupees for which you have given a bond, send them away saying that you won't pay it, and that you will get a letter from Chandâ Sâhib ordering the return of the bond.' He also told me to tell all this to Qâsim, give him the letters and despatch him. I said I would do so.

He then asked what was in Mîr Asad's letter. I reported the contents as follows:—'According to the Pâdshâh's sanad, the jaghir and its revenues have been attached to the Valudâvûr killa for the last forty years. You have seized them; they should be given up. Recall your Idaiyans, and allow my treasury-peons to resume their duties.' He ordered the reply to run as follows: 'You know what I have done for Chandâ Sâhib, in return for which he has given me the Villiyanallûr and Bâhûr

pargannahs together with their revenues. I gave him the subah, and whatever he grants will be little in comparison. When they succeeded in this small affair for which I expected no recompense, they forced this gift on me, so I accepted it. Your writing to me about this is useless; you must write to him.' I agreed, and, in the Governor's presence, told Madanânda Pandit to write such a letter and get it sealed. He said he would do so and went away to write it.

By the ship that arrived yesterday a reply was received from Coja Namat-ul-lah Khân about the Yânâm warehouse. He gave me this and told me to interpret it. It says [ ].

Sunday, January 4.[1]—I went to the Governor when he returned from church this morning, and told him that according to his order of yesterday, I had sent four spies to Nâsîr Jang's camp near Raichûr on the further bank of the Kistna to bring back a report. He ordered me to send four more messengers in a body to ascertain and report the news.

He then asked if any of the Mahânâttârs would visit him to-day. I said that they would all come to-morrow.

He then said, 'There was heavy rain yesterday. Has not the price of grain fallen?' I replied, 'Can bullock-loads be expected yet? Because the town

[1] *24th Mârgali, Sukla.*

is destined to fortune and prosperity under you, 500 or 1,000 bullock-loads come in daily; but otherwise not one load could be expected.'

He then asked if news had come from Tanjore. I said that a Brâhman friend of mine had written from camp as follows:—'The matter has been settled for 70 lakhs; the Râjâ has given a parwâna for Tirunallâr and other places, 80 villages in all, as an inam attached to Kârikâl for which Chandâ Sâhib formerly sent his parwâna; the Râjâ has remitted the yearly peshcash of 2,000 pagodas for Kârikâl and given a sanad for it and has also agreed to pay a certain sum in ready money and to pledge countries for the balance.'—'In that case, why have I not any letter?' he asked. I replied that he would hear to-day, but that perhaps my news was unreliable. [ ]

Monday, January 5.[1]—I went to the Governor this morning and said that the Company's merchants, the mint-people, Mahânâttârs and others were coming to visit him. Having ordered *pân supârî*, etc., to be got ready, I went to my office at the nut-godown. I then took the Company's merchants to visit the Governor. They presented him with 50 or 60 pagodas' worth of cloth and rings, and paid their compliments. He replied suitably and said very joyfully, 'M. Duquesne writes that he has settled the Tanjore affair for 70 lakhs of rupees and has

[1] *25th Mârgali, Sukla.*

obtained a parwâna for Tirunallâr and other villages, 80 in all, which Chandâ Sâhib formerly granted, as an inam attached to Kârikâl and that he has secured the remission of the yearly peshcash of 2,000 pagodas for Kârikâl. The Râjâ has paid a part of the amount agreed upon; and the army is now encamped two kos this side.' They replied, 'Just as at the season of floods the Kistna suddenly overflows its banks, so now your fortune has caused your authority to overflood the country. None is so fortunate as you. French ground forms but three spans of the Moghul territory; but the prosperity of your trade has enriched the Muhammadans. Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân, Chandâ Sâhib and others obey you as though you were Pâdshâh; and without an effort you have acquired jaghirs yielding a lakh of pagodas. As God is pleased to make the glory of the French shine like the sun throughout the land, you need not win greater glory by your valour or conquer more dominions. We only pray that you may abide and live long here instead of departing to Europe.'

Tuesday, January 6.[1]—The *Vengeur* [?] for China reached Mascareigne from Europe; but lost her passage to China owing to unfavourable winds, so she put in at Malacca, where she took three Armenians on board, reached the Pondichery roads

[1] *26th Mârgali, Sukla.*

this evening,[1] and fired 13 guns, which were returned by the ships in the roads. The captain of the ship already in the roads, thinking himself to be the senior, hoisted the admiral's flag. But the captain of the new vessel thought that he was senior, and did the same. So their rivalry prevented them from saluting each other. I hear that the captain of the ship will land in the morning and I will note his name when I learn it. I hear that this ship has four lakhs of dollars intended for China, and that they are being landed in masula-boats with floats of wood attached.[2] M. Desfresnes tells me that the Governor intends to send this ship to Mocha.

Thursday, January 8.[3]—A letter was received this evening from Tanjore, saying that an agreement has been made for 70 lakhs, of which 30 lakhs are to be paid in ready money, and countries mortgaged for the balance, requesting that Chandâ Sâhib should be desired to accept the 30 lakhs in instalments, and promising a parwâna for villages to be attached to Kârikâl as an inam together with another remitting the peshcash of 2,000 pagodas[ ]

[1] Vessels reaching the Straits after the N.E. Monsoon had begun to blow, were forced to lie in harbour there for six months, or put back to an Indian harbour. In 1752 Dupleix bitterly complained because La Butte, commander of a China ship, had preferred lying at Malacca to returning to Pondichery. Dupleix to the Company, February, 19, 1752 (*Archives des Colonies*).

[2] This was the precaution usually taken in landing treasure, so that it should not be lost in case of the masula-boat being overturned in the surf.

[3] *28th Mârgali, Sukla.*

Wednesday, January 14.[1]—The Governor said this morning, 'You told me that the Governor of Fort St. David had prepared a tent of broad-cloth to be given to Nâsîr Jang. The Company wrote to me that that tent had been sent out by Mr. Boscawen the Rear-Admiral, when he came here, with rich Europe presents, to procure the help of the Nawâbs; so I was empowered to spend even two lakhs of pagodas to win over the Nawâb of Arcot instead of allowing him to join the English. The tent made of embossed cloth was not then presented to Anwar-ud-dîn Khân, but is now to be given to Nâsîr Jang. Though the Company permitted me to spend even two lakhs of pagodas, yet I spent not a cash—not a sixty-fourth of a Pondichery fanam. Don't you think that the Company should be grateful to me for this?' I replied, 'Is this your only service of importance? You resisted the enemy when they besieged the place for two months with 20,000 foot and with 40 or 50 ships; you have made the glory of the French shine like the sun throughout the whole country; you have acquired territory for the Company worth a lakh and a half of pagodas; how can we choose out one service to be remembered with gratitude? How can you be sufficiently rewarded? They know not how to recompense you, or they would have done so already.'—'True,' he observed.

[1] *5th Tai, Sukla.*

Half an hour afterwards, he said, 'On November 5, the day I went to Mortândi Choultry, I gave M. Macé a coral necklace and some branch coral. What are they worth?' I said, 'At the rate of 320 rupees [the 100 pagodas], the setting is worth 40 pagodas.' He said, 'That makes 128 rupees. Here are 48½ dollars. With these and the proceeds of the coral, buy a bale of Masulipatam *lungis* and deliver it at the time the ship leaves.' I took the money accordingly and said I would do so. Then I went to the nut-godown.

Madanânda Pandit tells me that the Governor's wife sent for him this afternoon and asked him to write letters to the Râjâ of Tanjore, Chandâ Sâhib and his son, Razâ Sâhib, reminding the latter of her Tamil letter sent by her people and desiring the affair to be settled soon, with compliments to the father and son on their success, which she had omitted hitherto.

The Governor and Madame sent for Madanânda Pandit at eight o'clock to-night. [ ]

Saturday, January 17.[1]—I went to the Fort this morning to see the Company's cloth (which got wet aboard ship) baled after being re-washed. Then I went to the Governor's but could not see him, as he was continually going up and down to watch two ships that were in sight flying white flags embroidered with flowers,[2] and which were

[1] *8th Tai, Sukla.*

[2] *I.e.*, with the fleurs-de-lys of the French standard.

therefore thought to be Europe ships. Before this a Council had been held about fitting out a ship for Mocha. I waited there an hour and then went to my office at the nut-godown.

Sunday, January 18.[1]—I went at eight o'clock this morning with all the merchants who brought limes in order to pay their compliments to the Governor. They said, 'We hear that the King of France has been pleased to bestow on you the badge of [St. Louis][2] with the red ribbon. As we rejoice at this, we have come to pay you our respects. This honour bestowed on you is not surprising; you are to win yet greater things.' The Governor replied joyfully and dismissed them.

Monday, January 19.[3]—When I went to the Governor this morning, he asked me in the presence of the ships' captains and others why the washed cloth had not yet been baled. I replied that M. St. Paul had said that, as he was going to Villiyanallûr, the cloth had better be sorted and baled to-morrow. 'Very well,' he said.

He then asked the news about Nâsîr Jang. I said that he was at Gulbarga, Raichûr or thereabouts. He said, 'You told me yesterday that

[1] *9th Tai, Sukla.*

[2] Reading *Suma Lûyê* for *marikki.* The reference to the red ribbon fixes the allusion to the grant, at this time, of the Cross of St. Louis. I suspect that *marikki* is the error of a transcriber who knew that Dupleix was created a Marquis, but forgot that this event did not take place until 1752. The order of St. Louis was granted to Dupleix in recognition of his services in defending Pondichery against Boscawen.

[3] *10th Tai, Sukla.*

Saiyid Laskkar Khân was at Adoni and those parts with 10,000 horse. Is he still there?' I said I had heard that he was at Adoni and thereabouts, destroying Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân's country.

I then said, 'Mîr Ghulâm Husain's brother-in-law, Akbar Sâhib, is complaining that, when he demanded his wife's share, he was abused and ridiculed and now intends departing for Vellore. He says he will complain to you to-morrow, and will watch lest they[1] should depart, and begs that we will do the same. With your permission, he says, he will present a petition and prove his claim. He also desires a letter to be written to Mîr A'azam. Shall I write?' He told me to do so and added, 'See that no mistake is made about what I have just told you. M. Le Riche, the Commandant of Kârikâl, writes that the 81 villages near Kârikâl obtained by Chandâ Sâhib from the Râjâ of Tanjore (details of which have already been given), are worth but 40,000 pagodas instead of 70,000 as first reported.[2] He wants to cheat the Company. As you are the Company's courtier, you must manage them to the Company's benefit. Appoint proper men to manage them.' I replied, 'I will certainly do so as it is my duty to work for the Company.'

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[1] *I.e.*, the people withholding his wife's property.

[2] The Kârikâl concessions actually realised about 30,000 pagodas a year between 1750 and 1754. See the *Mémoire* for Dupleix (*Piéces Justificatives* No. 6) and the *Mémoire* for the Company (*Piéces Justificatives* No. 14 D.).

Then Appu came and reported something to him. He sent for me and said, 'Muttu Mallâ Reddi formerly refused to accept the Tindivanam accounts for the grain, tobacco, cattle, etc., sold. He is now willing to receive the money shown in them as due. See that his people carry on the cultivation properly.' [ ].

Friday, January 23.[1]—The Governor told me this morning to write replies to the letters brought three days ago by camel-people from Chandâ Sâhib and Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân. The letter to Chandâ Sâhib says after compliments, 'You write that Nâsîr Jang's coming matters little, for those with him favour Muzaffar Jang, but that as Muzaffar Jang is about to advance against him, he will send his mother and wife here and that I should provide them with lodgings, etc. I will provide them with everything when they come. As for your writing that munitions of war should be got ready against Nâsîr Jang's coming, everything is ready and I will supply you abundantly. But his coming is uncertain. I have two camel-people here, and I will forward all news. Let there be no delay in collecting the money due from Tanjore.' As soon as I had written this, [he told me] to write to Muzaffar Jang to send his wife as he proposed and that he would defeat Nâsîr Jang if he advanced against him [ ].

[1] *14th Tai, Sukla.*

Sunday, January 25.[1]—A peon came and said that the Governor wanted me. When I went he gave me a letter from Chandâ Sâhib, saying, 'Nâsîr Jang, being alarmed at the news of our success at Tanjore, has given up his intention of marching thither, and intends marching elsewhere. The same news has reached Tanjore; and they who were making pretext to delay the payment, are now afraid and are preparing to pay. Nâsîr Jang fears he cannot stand before your army. All but M. Duquesne are in good health.' I read this letter (which was in Chandâ Sâhib's own hand) and reported its contents to the Governor, who was overjoyed at Nâsîr Jang's not coming, and told M. Friell and others. He then told me to reply to Chandâ Sâhib as follows:—'I rejoice that Nâsîr Jang is not coming. Collect this money from the Râjâ of Tanjore without delay. If you halt in the same place for a long time, large sums will be expended in paying the army. So settle matters quickly.' I had a letter written accordingly, and, having given it to the Governor, went to the nut-godown.

[1] *16th Tai, Sukla.*

FEBRUARY 1750.

Tuesday, February 3.[1]—There was news this morning as follows :—Nâsîr Jang who was encamped near Râyadrug, this side of Adoni, was much alarmed at the news of Sâhu Râjâ's death. Sau Bhâji Râo has detained all the forces under him and would dissuade Nâsîr Jang from marching this way. Moreover Raghôji Bhônsla and others are plundering Baroda and other countries. All this has troubled Nâsîr Jang.[2] He fears he will surely be defeated, for Chandâ Sâhib and Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân Sâhib have strengthened their forces in these parts and have with them the victorious French army which all his soldiers fear. He is grieved at losing a strong ally by Sâhu Râjâ's death. Moreover he is alarmed at hearing that a certain man has been appointed Subahdar of the Deccan by the Pâdshâh,[3] and is marching with a large army from Delhi. So he has resolved to move his flag towards Aurangabad and Satâra, and has already marched one stage.

[1] *25th Tai, Sukla.*

[2] Sâhu Râjâ died in December 1749. But that event must have strengthened rather than weakened Nâsîr Jang's position, for it set the Peishwa, Bâlâji Bhâji Râo, busily at work consolidating his position, and thus rendered a Maratha attack upon the Deccan improbable. On the other hand Nâsîr Jang may have thought that Raghôji Bhônsla would recall the contingent under Sanôji who was marching with him into the Carnatic.

[3] I believe, merely a bazaar rumour.

Tuesday, February 10.[1]—As 19 bales of my coarse blue-cloth and the Yânâm cloth were to be sorted and packed, I stayed at the Fort till twelve o'clock. I and the Second then went to the Governor and informed him that 36 bales had been made up.

He then said, 'Mîr A'azam Sâhib, who has come from Nawâb Chandâ Sâhib's camp, says that he has secret news to deliver, as the letter has already stated. As it is now noon, I must dine; but wait till I have finished, and then I will hear the news. You can go and eat afterwards.' I went to him at half-past seven [*sic*] when he had finished; and I now write what Mîr A'azam said and what the Governor replied.

Mîr A'azam said that he had been told by Chandâ Sâhib to report to the Governor as follows :—' Formerly I did not seize the fort of Tanjore in consideration of Sâhu Râjâ, but made an agreement that the affair should be settled for 70 lakhs, that territory should be mortgaged for 40 lakhs and that 30 lakhs should be paid in ready money, of which 15 lakhs should be paid down at once and the remainder after the army had reached a certain place. Up to now articles of gold and silver and jewels set with precious stones, worth about 7 lakhs of rupees, have been delivered and the balance has still to be paid. But as Sâhu Râjâ is now dead, I

[1] *2nd Mâsi, Sukla.*

have raised batteries in order to capture the Fort.[1] Please write to M. Goupil, the Commander of your army, and to Muzaffar Khân and Shaikh Hasan, jemadars of the sepoys, that their people must not plunder the fort when it is captured.' The Governor replied, 'I will write as you desire; but the Marathas are strong, and may think that Chandâ Sâhib has broken his agreement in seizing the fort of Tanjore after Sâhu Râjâ's death, as though he had inherited his power. The great men and wazirs, Sau Bhâji Râo, Raghôji Bhônsla, Fatteh Singh, Srîpati Râo, etc., may grow angry, supposing that he considers the Maratha kingdom ended by Sâhu Râjâ's death, and so, forgetting their former friendship for him, may make friends with Nâsîr Jang to attack him. Considering the present state of affairs, he needs their friendship. So before taking the fort, he must consider the future and avoid the evils that may happen. But if it be thought that these dangers are unreal, and that the fort should be captured, he has my good wishes. I am also for seizing the fort. I will write to M. Goupil, the Commander of the French troops, and to Muzaffar Khân and Shaikh Hasan, the jemadars of the sepoys, not to plunder the fort but make an agreement to receive so many lakhs of rupees as a present for its capture, on which condition they

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[1] Report credited Chandâ Sâhib with the design of establishing his son as Nawâb of Tanjore. Le Riche to Dupleix, February 10, 1750 (*P.R.* No. 84, f. 201).

should plunder nothing but obey Chandâ Sâhib's orders. If they take the fort by storm, they will surely plunder and set all agreements at defiance. The Europeans might perhaps refrain, but Muzaffar Khân's sepoys, though they were promised a lakh of rupees each, could not be kept from plunder. But, if, as happened at Madras, the enemy come to terms before the walls are scaled, and surrender the fort, and if Chandâ Sâhib and his people alone enter, leaving the others outside, then there may be no plunder. Otherwise it is sure to be pillaged.'[1] This is what was said about Tanjore.

Mîr A'azam then continued, 'Murtazâ 'Alî Khân of Vellore is a firebrand in these parts, in spite of his being Chandâ Sâhib's brother-in-law. He killed Safdar 'Alî Khân, thus breaking up the Navâits; and in spite of all the kindness shown him after Chandâ Sâhib's coming, he is still the same mischief-maker as before. It is intended to send Razâ Sâhib with an army against him; and so Chandâ Sâhib desires you to send mortars, cannon, etc., to capture the fort.' The Governor replied, 'Murtazâ 'Alî Khân is indeed an evil man, and his fort should be captured. It will not take long to get possession of Vellore. It will surrender as soon as it is besieged. But for the moment, it is enough to settle the Tanjore and Trichinopoly affairs. It is not wise

[1] Presumably this was why Chandâ Sâhib prevented Goupil from attacking Tanjore on the evening of February 19. Le Riche to Dupleix, February 24, 1750 (*P.R.* No. 84, f. 205).

to send a few troops here and a few there. But if he indeed desires its capture, he has my good wishes. Mortars, cannon, etc., are ready; only bullocks and carts are needed for their transport.'

Thirdly Mîr A'azam said, 'As Muzaffar Jang and Chandâ Sâhib will march to attack Nâsîr Jang, they wish to send their families into Pondichery. I am ordered to ask you to provide a house for Muzaffar Jang's wife; as there is still the house in which Chandâ Sâhib's family formerly lived, no other house need be provided for them.' The Governor replied, 'I will certainly do this. A house is ready for Muzaffar Jang's family, so write that they are welcome to come whenever they please.'

Fourthly Mîr A'azam said, 'I have been asked to tell you that the Pâdshâh's vakîl has written that his parwâna will be sent to you in a short time.' The Governor answered, 'That will add to my strength; it should be procured quickly.'

Fifthly Mîr A'azam said, 'It is written that the Pâdshâh's uncle and a wazir have marched with a large army to capture Nâsîr Jang.' The Governor replied, 'Write that I am rejoiced to hear this. May such glad news come daily.'

Sixthly Mîr A'azam said, 'Instead of writing that there was news that Amânat Khân (Mubariz Khân's son) was marching against Nâsîr Jang, Muzaffar Khân has written the opposite.' The Governor said, 'Reply that, henceforth, Chandâ Sâhib

should write about all things without informing Muzaffar Khân.'

Seventhly Mîr A'azam said, 'I have been ordered to tell you that a letter should be written to the Company by the Europe ships saying that 3,000 Europeans and 2,000 Coffrees are needed and that Chandâ Sâhib will pay them so long as he remains Nawâb.' The Governor said, 'Tell Chandâ Sâhib to write asking me to apply to the Company in Europe for 3,000 soldiers and 2,000 Coffrees and promising, if they are sent, to maintain them so long as he is Nawâb.' He agreed to do so.

Eighthly Mîr A'azam said, 'I have been ordered to ask you for 1,000 muskets, cartridges, red-lead, etc.' The Governor replied, 'Write that I will supply the four or five hundred sepoys who are coming with muskets, bayonets, cartridges, etc. I cannot do more.'

Ninthly Mîr A'azam said, 'When we were here before, the carpets you offered us were refused; but the carpets spread in the tents during the Tanjore war have been eaten by white ants. Please furnish us from the Company's warehouses with all the carpets, large or small, that are available.' The Governor answered, 'Write that I will send them by boat to Kârikâl with orders to send them up to camp, where they will be received.' He sent for M. Cornet and ordered him to have them sent.

Tenthly, the Governor said that a letter had come last night from 'Alî Naqî Sâhib saying that dîwân

Morô Pandit and Khâzi Ahmad[1] had set out from his[2] camp at Mathugiri near Peddapallâpuram and were marching with 1,000 horsemen to Trichinopoly, to offer terms to Muzaffar Jang. He asked Mîr A'azam if it was true. He replied, 'It is so; messengers reported this when I was setting out for Pondichery.' The Governor replied, 'Write to Chandâ Sâhib and Muzaffar Jang that they owe their power to me, that we are as three heads under one hat, that we shall come to naught if one of us be destroyed; no agreement therefore should be made with Nâsîr Jang without my consent; Morô Pandit and Khâzi Ahmad should be shown all respect when they arrive, but, when they begin to talk about peace, it should be answered that, though we have three bodies, our life is one, that peace cannot be made without me, and that if the matter is to be settled satisfactorily, they must come here.' Mîr A'azam said that he would do so and the Governor added that he also would write to the same effect.

Eleventhly Mîr A'azam said, 'I am ordered to tell you that soldiers are confidently reported to have arrived on board the ships; if some be sent, men will say that you have sent 4,000, so our enemies' hearts will burst with fear.' The Governor replied, 'Write that only a few soldiers have arrived, and if I send any from here, the attack on Vellore must be put off.'

[1] This man is subsequently called Khâzi Dâyem. [2] *I.e.*, Nâsîr Jang's.

Twelfthly Mîr A'azam said that Chandâ Sâhib needed broadcloth and serge. The Governor said he could give serge but no broadcloth. Mîr A'azam continued, 'His Highness Chandâ Sâhib and his son, Razâ Sâhib, have ordered me to say that they cannot thank you sufficiently for your protection and your re-establishing the fallen Navâits. You have delivered over to the Company the 36 villages of Bâhûr, the 46 villages of Villiyanallûr and the 81 villages including Tirunallâr, etc., added as an inam to Kârikâl. Moreover the five or six lakhs of ready money bestowed have been absorbed by the officers and the soldiers, so that you have gained nothing. If more lands were given, you would again hand them over to the Company, so I am charged to tell you that you shall be gratified by large sums given secretly out of the money procured from Tanjore.' The Governor said, 'All that is true. Whatever they may offer me now in money is mine. Say they may do as they please.'

Sunday, February 15.[1]—I heard this morning that the *Prince* and *Thévenepatam*[2] which sailed for Europe and Mascareigne respectively at four o'clock this morning were still in sight at seven o'clock this morning on account of unfavourable winds, but afterwards disappeared.

[1] *7th Mâsi, Sukla.*

[2] From her name she must have been a small country-boat. She is occasionally mentioned in the correspondence of Dupleix.

As the Governor sat up very late last night, he slept till nine o'clock this morning, and then went to church to hear mass. As soon as he had returned and taken his coffee, I reported to him as follows the contents of the letter from 'Alî Naqî Sâhib (son of Chandâ Sâhib's sister-in-law):—'When Nâsîr Jang reached Sîrpi, he sent his dîwân Morô Pandit and Khâzi Dâyem with other great men to offer terms. Before they reached Tanjore and other places, Chandâ Sâhib had already sent Mîr A'azam to you with a letter requesting soldiers and Coffrees with provisions to be sent. Please send provisions as requested. I suppose that Morô Pandit, etc., have arrived and are treating for peace.' When I reported this, he told me to reply that he had already written to Chandâ Sâhib and should act accordingly.

I then reported the contents of the letter from Qâdir Sâhib Dâyâ, the Killedar of Gingee:—'It will be well if 100 Europeans are appointed to guard Gingee fort so long as Nâsîr Jang is in these parts. There is no danger if they have powder, shot, shell, mortars, etc. So please send them.' He replied, 'Write that I will do so when I have heard from Chandâ Sâhib. Also write to Chandâ Sâhib asking if the things should be sent to the Killedar of Gingee as he requests.' I wrote three letters accordingly and had them despatched.

He sent for me again and said, 'Along with the Europe letters brought from Surat by messengers

last night there was a letter from the Nawâb of Surat. Interpret it to me.' It says, 'Nâsîr Jang writes to me to ask M. Le Verrier, the chief of your factory, to explain to you that you are protecting certain persons who disobey Nâsîr Jang's orders. It is not well to do this. They must be sent away and his commands must be obeyed.'

Monday, February 16.[1]—Two of Nawâb Muzaffar Jang's camel-people brought a letter at six o'clock this evening. It says, 'Nâsîr Jang is marching hither from Sîrpi, but Chandâ Sâhib is too busy with the Tanjore affair to care about the enemy's approach and is unwilling to do anything until the fort is captured Write to me what should be done.' When I reported this, he said, 'Both 'Alî Naqî Sâhib and Chandâ Sâhib have written two or three times saying that Nâsîr Jang is marching northwards and that Khâzi Dâyem is coming, Qurân in hand, along with dîwân Morô Pandit, to treat for peace. They write that Nâsîr Jang is retreating; Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân alone says that he is coming here. How can that be? Why did not Chandâ Sâhib write so? I think that Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân has written thus because Chandâ Sâhib is not letting him manage the Tanjore affair, and that he hopes by spreading such news to cause confusion and prevent him from taking the fort.' [.]

[1] *8th Mâsi, Sukla.*

Friday, February 20.[1]—M. Goupil's letter written from the Tanjore camp and received this morning says, 'The outer part of the fort of Tanjore has been bombarded. M. Law who is mortally wounded[2] and M. Dancy who is slightly wounded have been sent to Kârikâl. The fort will fall in two or three days. Nâsîr Jang has reached Mathugiri this side of Sîrpi. Nâsîr Jang's dîwân Morô Pandit, Khâzi Dâyem, and Sampâti Râo with a few troops are about to plant their flag at Arcot, and surround Wandiwash and other killas, in order to seize the killedars' families; and Nâsîr Jang himself will move upon Tanjore to surround and attack Muzaffar Jang and Chandâ Sâhib.' The Governor said, 'But it was written that Nâsîr Jang had retired. How can he be coming hither immediately? I suppose Muzaffar Jang expects by saying that Nâsîr Jang is coming to make Chandâ Sâhib give up hopes of capturing the fort of Tanjore so that he may get the money for himself.' I replied, 'It is certain that Nâsîr Jang had reached Sîrpi and Mathugiri, and that dîwân Morô Pandit and Khâzi Dâyem are coming (as written above), Qurân in hand, to offer terms. They suppose now that he is coming to fight. But he will be cautious in deciding what to do. So [he has sent] Morô [Pandit] in advance. [.']

[1] *12th Mâsi, Sukla.*

[2] Law was severely, not mortally, wounded. 'Il en sera, suivant ce que l'on me marque, quitte pour son oeil; il va beaucoup mieux.' Le Riche to Dupleix, February 24, 1750 (*P.R.* No. 84, f. 205).

MARCH 1750.

Wednesday, March 4.[1]—When I went to the Governor this morning, two messengers brought letters from Nâsîr Jang and from Khâzi Dâyem who is accompanying Morô Pandit; they say that Nâsîr Jang has reached the Chengama passes. 'Alî Naqî Sâhib's letter received the day before yesterday said messengers had come with news that Nâsîr Jang was at Sahâdêv; so the men here were asked why they had said he was at the Singaripêttai passes when he really was at Sahâdêv. They replied that, as they had been four days on the road, he would be there by now.

Then the Governor [asked] what the contents of the letter were [ ].

I said, 'Nâsir Jang's letter received on the 19th of last month,[2] ordered Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân to leave Chandâ Sâhib and us to recall our troops and mind our own affairs. That was sent by a messenger. The letter now received is to the same effect. Of these two letters one was sent here direct by a messenger and the other must have been sent by Khâzi Dâyem and Morô Pandit, as Khâzi Dâyem sends a letter of his own with it.' The Governor told me to reply to Nâsîr Jang according to the letter formerly written to him, copy of which was taken

[1] *24th Mâsi, Sukla.*

[2] It is not clear whether Ranga Pillai means the 19th February or the 19th *Tai* (i.e., January 28); probably he means the former.

and kept, and to Khâzi Dâyem after compliments as follows:—'I have received your letter and have replied to Nâsîr Jang, saying that matters can only be settled in accordance with his wishes, if he is sincerely willing to make terms. Then the matter will be in his hands. If there is any doubt, let affairs be discussed in person.' He added that Nâsîr Jang's letter need not be sent in a bag but that it should not be written on ordinary paper but on gold-spotted paper, such as Nâsîr Jang had used. I wrote the letters accordingly, delivered them to the messengers who were waiting, and told Parasurâma Pillai to send them with a rupee each as a present according to orders. They said that Nâsîr Jang was sending his guns, etc., in advance to the Chengama passes, where he intended to halt.

Saturday, March 7.[1]—A Turkish trooper named Hâji 'Abd-ul-lah, who has come on horseback from Nawâz Khân (who is with Nâsîr Jang) with six or seven harkaras, sent word that he was waiting at the Olukarai boundhedge this side of the toll-gate with a letter from Nâsîr Jang. So the Governor sent a peon to bring him, and summoned me to come at once as a letter from Nâsîr Jang was expected. After sending a peon for Madanânda Pandit, I went to the Governor's. On seeing me, he said, 'I hear that a man has come from Nâsîr Jang; but I do not think that is true. He may come from Morô Pandit

[1] *27th Mâsi, Sukla.*

or one of his sardârs. Let him come; but why should they send so often? We shall see what lie he brings.' He then ordered me to summon the Councillors who all assembled ; but I do not know what he told them about the troubles and Nâsîr Jang's coming. Then, the Turk with his messengers arrived. He sent for me at once and said, 'There are many people here, so take him to the room next M. Bertrand's writing room in the Accountant's office, and ask what he has come about.' As the Turk was going along with me, he spoke to M. Guillard in French and inquired after his health. As we entered the room, he said, 'Should not one sent by a great man be received with respect and desired to sit? It is rude to send him aside and keep him waiting.' I cannot describe the dissatisfaction of his words.

The Governor then called me and asked what he had to say. I replied, 'He will neither speak nor give the letter to anyone but you.' When he had dismissed the Councillors, he said, 'Tell him to come here.' When I took him to the Governor, he delivered two letters, one from Shâh Nawâz Khân and another from Nâsîr Jang. Nâsîr Jang's letter did not bear the usual square seal with the inscription 'Nizâm-ud-daulah,' but a long one with the name 'Nâsîr Jang' cut on it. Moreover the writing of the letter was unusual. After many complaints, it says, 'Although till now you have helped Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân and Chandâ Sâhib who are rebelling against the Pâdshâh's orders, you must

now abandon them, recall your troops and join me.' Shâh Nawâz Khân's letter says, 'I send Coja Hâji 'Abd-ul-lah who will explain all things to you. If you recall your army from Chandâ Sâhib and Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân, and march to welcome Nâsîr Jang, all your affairs will prosper according to your desire.' When I reported this, the Governor said, 'This is nothing at all. They may write proudly but are really frightened. It is not from Nâsîr Jang at all but from Shâh Nawâz Khân in reply to our letters.' I replied that it was true.

The following is the history of the Turk, Hâji 'Abd-ul-lah as he related it to the Governor and M. d'Auteuil:—In M. Lenoir's time, M. de Voulton, a soldier, won some money at play, borrowed more under pretence of trade, lost it all at play, then fled by the Madras road to Covelong with his wife the daughter of Mijnheer de Vos. M. Lenoir sent some peons to catch him and bring him back; but Miyân Sâhib's son, Badê Sâhib, declared that he was not there and thus brought him safely to Nellore. His good fortune led him to Golconda and Aurangabad and thence to Qamar-ud-dîn Khân, the Pâdshâh's wazir at Delhi, where he set up as a physician. When Nâdir Shâh invaded the country, imprisoned Muhammad Shâh, plundered Delhi and slew about 230,000 people, this man by good fortune secured plunder worth ten or twenty lakhs; moreover he vigilantly guarded Qamar-ud-dîn Khân's house and family, and prevented Nâdir Shâh's people from

attacking it, thus proving himself a faithful servant.[1] Hâji 'Abd-ul-lah served under this M. de Voulton for a long time, and conveyed the parwânas obtained from Qamar-ud-dîn Khân, the wazir at Delhi, granting a naubat to the French, allowing them to coin rupees, granting lands for a factory at Yânâm and declaring the Pondichery three-swâmi pagodas current—to M. Guillard at Yânâm and to M. Porcher at Masulipatam, and returned to Delhi. Moreover he visited this place 20 or 25 years ago in M. Lenoir's time. He also said, 'I was born in the Kingdom of the Emperor of Constantinople. I have lived in Paris, the city of Louis XIV, the King of France, and was there when Louis XV ascended the throne on the death of Louis XIV. Moreover I lived for some time in England.' He further related the curious things which he had seen there.[2]

Kalichiya Pillai's cadjan letter received from Chidambaram to-night says :—'By your favour, I have dwelt happily till now, March 6, in the fort of Chidambaram. I have already written to you about affairs here and the death of His Highness Muhammad Khân Sâhib's wife. Before nine o'clock on the 4th of this month, the Marathas under

[1] I am not aware how far the latter details are true; but Voulton was certainly a French deserter, who escaped to Delhi and became Physician-in-ordinary to the great Moghul! (See Cultru, op. cit, p. 173; Orme's History, i, p. 174). Dupleix procured a royal pardon for him, Compagnie au Cons. Sup., January 14, 1741 (*P.R.* No. 6).

[2] Hâji 'Abd-ul-lah seems to have borne a close family resemblance to that curious person, Mustapha, the translator of the *Seir-ul-mutakherin.*

Morâri Râo and other sardârs surrounded the place with ten or twelve thousand horse. A thousand of His Highness Chandâ Sâhib's horse were camped by Nâgacheri, in Chidambaram, with Gôpâlanârâyanappa Ayyan. When they were passing by Nandimangalam Mûlamedukkuchevai on their way southwards to join their master at Mayavaram, the Marathas surrounded them, captured some of the horses, wounded Gôpâlanârâyanappan in the hand and carried him off with the elephant he was on. Some of the horsemen entered their bounds; and on this pretext, they have plundered the town and caused disturbances. Thereupon His Highness Muhammad Khân Sâhib fired all the guns in the fort. Then harkaras came from Morâri Râo, and they made terms for a present of 10,000 rupees. Soon after mid-day on Thursday, Sêshâ Râo and Shaikh Muhammad Sharîf marched from Chôlamandalam with 2,000 horse supported by a body of sepoys and crossed the Vallam ford. But the Marathas encountered and attacked them near the Old Coleroon. Sêshâ Râo fought bravely but was shot and departed this life. The Marathas captured all the horses, elephants, etc., and then returned to their camp. About noon on Friday, the Marathas, collecting all their troops, moved towards Tirumittachevai. I hear that their Highnesses Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân Sâhib and Chandâ Sâhib will cross the Arasûr and march by Bhuvanagiri to-morrow. It is rumoured that the Marathas will

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surround them also. It is not yet known what will happen; we only escaped with great difficulty. When 'Abd-ul-qâdir, a trooper of the Body Guard, was trying to reach the fort with some horsemen, 20 Maratha horse surrounded him and after killing him carried off the horses. We had a narrow escape, but just reached the gates of the fort. Many were wounded in Chidambaram and the whole town was plundered. In the panic, 40 or 50 persons were trampled down and perished in their efforts to enter the fort-gate. I cannot describe the alarm. I myself escaped only by my good fortune in being related to you. You shall know all things when I meet you and narrate what has taken place. Please write what I should do here.' This is the first disturbance that has befallen Chidambaram; but now doubtless God is pleased to punish Mudâmiah's treachery.

When I was reading this cadjan letter at eight o'clock to-night, harkaras delivered to me a letter written to the Governor by M. Martinet, an officer, saying that 'Abd-ul-jalîl's people had cut down our *tôranams* and driven away our men at Villupuram, whereon he with another officer had marched there at nine o'clock this morning with some Europeans and sepoys, cut down and thrown away the *tôranams* tied by 'Abd-ul-jalîl's people, beaten and driven out the people in the fort, and hoisted the French flag there this afternoon in token of victory. I went to the Governor to report

our success at Villupuram, gave him M. Martinet's letter, and told him privately in detail the contents of Kalichiya Pillai's letter. He replied, 'Nonsense! Morâri Râo cannot have reached Chidambaram; the news must be false and the disturbance caused by some Tanjore people.' I replied, 'My letter says that the news is true.' Thereupon he wrote a letter directing the Europeans with M. Martinet at Villupuram to return, leaving a garrison of 20 sepoys. I remarked that a pass was needed for the Valudâvûr gate if the letter was to be sent at once. He gave a pass accordingly. Then I came home, wrote a letter to my amaldâr who has gone to Villupuram, gave it with the Governor's letter to three harkaras with six rupees, and sent them out by the gate.

Sunday, March 8.[1]—When the Governor returned from the church this morning, I went and reported that the Turk, Hâji 'Abd-ul-lah, who arrived yesterday with harkaras on horseback from Nâsîr Jang's camp had departed with a basket of liquor by the Valudâvûr gate and taken the Gingee road. The Governor said, 'When he left M. d'Auteuil's house last night after supper, Madame sent for him, and gave him a piece of white broad-cloth and 100 pagodas. He accepted them and took his leave. He is a great liar.' I replied, 'He has travelled much and speaks thirteen or fourteen languages, so

[1] 28th Mâsi, Sukla.

he is naturally a master-liar. He has journeyed throughout Europe and Hindustan, and become a storehouse of deceit and falsehood.' As I said this, M. Delarche and M. d'Auteuil came and said, 'This Turk was here in M. Lenoir's time, and was baptised at Madras by Father Thomas, by the name of *Suvâmbha*, the pure-minded; moreover he pretends to know all that passed concerning the various aspirants to the throne in the time of Louis XIV at Paris.'

This afternoon the Governor received a letter from M. Bussy at Nawâb Chandâ Sâhib's camp, saying that Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân and Chandâ Sâhib had marched with the French army and the rest of the troops from Chôlamandalam and to the southward and encamped just south of Chidambaram by the Vallam ford this side of the Coleroon, but south of the Old Coleroon, and half way between them. After reading this, the Governor sent for me and said, 'This is the first news we have had of the movement of our troops. Now we know where they are. As Morâri Râo and Morô Pandit are encamped at Pâlaiyamkôttai, about 15 miles west of Chidambaram, after plundering to the southward, I suppose that they are retreating before the advance of our troops.' I praised him, saying that the enemy would assuredly scatter on account of his good fortune and at the mere mention of his bravery and might. He was delighted with my words, and said I was right. The messengers who brought the

letters said that there had been a battle between Sêshâ Râo and Morâri Râo near the Old Coleroon, that Sêshâ Râo and Raghunâtha Râo had lost their treasure of about a lakh and 10,000 pagodas respectively, and that Sêshâ Râo had been killed in battle. At once letters were sent to our people directing them not to march this way but to move westwards towards Gingee.

Monday, March 9.[1]—The Governor sent for me this morning and asked if there was any news from camp. I replied, 'You have already heard that our troops reached Chidambaram at three o'clock yesterday. The letter I got from Tiruviti last evening says the same, and the news is confirmed by people who have come from there.' He then asked how far Pâlaiyamkôttai was from Chidambaram. 'Within a league,' I said. He continued, 'If it is true that Morô Pandit and Khâzi Dâyem moved from Pâlaiyamkôttai to join Morâri Râo's horse, and that Morô Pandit wanted to offer peace, why should they plunder like this? and why should he depart without discussing terms?'

Tuesday, March 10.[2]—I told the Governor this morning I had heard from Kupparna Pandit that Nawâb Chandâ Sâhib and Hidayât Muhî-ud-dîn Khân had reached Tiruviti and Panruti with the French troops. He said, 'It is very strange that, though the troops are so near, I have had no news for

[1] *29th Mâsi, Sukla.*

[2] *1st Panguni, Sukla.*

the last five or six days except from the letters you have received.' I replied, 'As our troops are on the march closely followed by the Maratha horse, and as they are anxious to escape the Marathas, perhaps they have had no leisure to write to you; or if they have sent people with letters, they may have been delayed by fear of the Marathas. There can be no other reason for it. Now that they have reached Tiruviti, you will get news without delay.' People from those parts say that our troops and the Marathas have completely destroyed the crops, grain-houses, etc., in the villages of the Bhuvanagiri and Tiruviti countries, and that nothing remains.

News came this afternoon from Kalichiya Pillai about Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân's camp as follows:—'On Saturday, March 7, the Maratha horse were encamped west of Chidambaram when His Highness' troops arrived about 6 miles west of Chidambaram. At dawn on Sunday morning, March 8, they marched towards Bhuvanagiri, but the Maratha horse intercepted and surrounded them on all sides. However our artillery was able to keep them at a distance, so that we reached Bhuvanagiri in the evening. On Monday, March 9, we marched by Tiruviti and I will write what takes place hereafter.' I resolved to report this to the Governor this afternoon when he had finished dinner. When he sent for me, I went to the fort at once and reported the contents of this letter. He asked if his people had sent no news. I replied,

'No.'—'How is that?' he asked; but I said nothing. Just then a peon from Tiruvêndipuram reported the news from there as follows:—'The Governor of Fort St. David marched to Tiruvêndipuram with English troops, removed the white flag that was flying on a tamarind tree, hoisted the English flag instead, fired three volleys followed by a salute of 11 guns, and ordered it to be proclaimed by beat of tom-tom that Tiruvêndipuram had come into their possession and that all might dwell there in peace. The amaldâr, Chandrasêkhara Pandit, has been carried into Fort St. David.' When I reported all this to the Governor, he seemed somewhat depressed. I salaamed and departed to the nut-godown.

At six o'clock this evening, the Governor went home from the fort and sent for me. Having noted the news on a piece of paper, he wrote to the Governor of Fort St. David to the following effect:—'You know that the Tiruvêndipuram country is rented by the Pillai, our Company's courtier, for when 'Abd-ul-jalîl seized the amaldâr, you sent word that you could not allow people living within your bounds to behave so. Moreover you know that the cultivators of the place who live in your bounds asked Ranga Pillai to rent the place to them. You sent your dubâsh for the amaldâr, treated him politely, and sent him back in a palankin. You also know that our Ranga Pillai wrote your dubâsh a letter of thanks. I am indeed surprised to hear that now you have sent troops to

Tiruvêndipuram, fired three volleys and 11 guns, and ordered it to be proclaimed by beat of tom-tom that you have taken possession of the country. Moreover you have ordered our flag to be removed and your own flag to be hoisted. Never should I have acted thus without informing you, even though I had the Pâdshâh's orders so to do. I cannot conceive what explanation you will offer if the king, your master, questions you about this. Although you knew all about the flag, you have acted so, and taught me how to behave in future.'[1]

When I related (as above written) what had happened at Tiruvêndipuram, he said, 'You got from His Highness Chandâ Sâhib a jaghir for five villages. Why did you choose villages so distant? Choose good villages near at hand and I will give you orders for them. Select such villages as will yield a larger revenue. In one way it is well that the English have taken possession of the Devanâmpattanam country, for as they are now responsible for the revenues, the money is as good as paid.'[2]

Wednesday, March 11.[3]—The Governor sent for me this morning and asked what news had come from Tiruviti. I replied, 'The whole army

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[1] For a translation into English of what Dupleix actually wrote, see *French Correspondence*, 1750, p. 1.

[2] Dupleix seems to have overlooked the fact that the English were not disposed to recognize Chandâ Sâhib as Nawâb, still less to pay him revenue for territory granted (apparently in jaghir) by Muhammad 'Alî Khân. *Fort St. David Consultations*, February 26, 1750 (I.O.).

[3] *2nd Panguni, Sukla.*

camped there last night. I do not know if they will halt there to-day or march by Tûkkanâmpâkkam and camp by the river beyond Tirukkânji and Villiyanallûr.' He answered, 'I ordered them to march towards Gingee but they have not gone there. I wrote the day before yesterday saying that, if they occupied the Valudâvûr fort, stored it with provisions and mounted guns upon the walls for its defence, with the help of the French, they could even drive Nâsîr Jang's army through the passes. But instead of doing so, they have retreated to Villiyanallûr in their alarm.' While we were thus talking, there came a letter from M. de La Touche at the camp, saying, 'We are about to march from Tiruviti. The Marathas came up with us before we reached the place. We opened fire on them and killed and wounded a few, on which they took to flight. They have been following our army after plundering the Tanjore country of two lakhs' worth of buffaloes and bullocks and I do not know how much else. I cannot express the fear of Chandâ Sâhib and Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân. They have only escaped because we were there to help them; otherwise they would have died the day on which they heard that Nâsîr Jang had left the passes. Imagine their courage!'

After reading this letter, the Governor said, 'Although they have seen with their own eyes that our men fight so that the enemy dare not approach,

yet they are still afraid. How can such men think of ruling countries? They should not attempt more than they are fit for. They can seize the whole produce without giving the cultivators their share, plunder their cattle, property and everything, suck their heart's blood, by demanding twice over, contrary to the terms of their lease, rent already paid, and thus plague them all. They can also throw away their swords at sight of the enemy and take shelter in a village or among trees to preserve their lives, though they lose all else. They can only do such things as these. If a man trusts these dogs, and acts with them, he will lose all sense of shame and bring dishonour upon himself.'

When he was thus abusing them he heard the report of many guns and asked what that could be. I replied that it must be our people firing against the Marathas, and added, 'This is the harvest season; but the enemy's march has destroyed the whole country. Paddy, houses, straw, etc., have been burnt wherever to be found. They have wasted the country by grazing their horses in the fields and trampling, even burning everything to the ground. So the Tanjore country has been utterly wasted by the marching of our army, and these parts by our own people and the Marathas. It will take four or five years for the country to recover its former prosperity.' To all this, he replied that I was right, and we discussed it for about two hours.

M. Saint-Georges, who was sent to the Tiruviti fort, has written twice or thrice that the English have sent 500 Europeans, 500 sepoys and 4 guns to assist Morâri Râo. The Governor said, 'There are not more than 200 or 250 soldiers in Fort St. David; how then can they have sent out 500 or 1,000? The news must be false.[1] A week ago, an officer, Saint-Régard [?], set out for Gingee with 500 soldiers, 12 troopers and 100 foot sepoys, with 3,000 pagodas, and we have not yet heard of their arrival.' I replied that we should hear to-morrow or the day after that they had arrived safely.

He then asked the news from Villupuram. I replied, 'I hear that our people there have gained a victory; we shall get reliable news soon.' As I said this, a messenger brought a letter from Villupuram about the victory to this effect:—When our people arrived, they found English Topasses and peons holding Villupuram fort, on behalf of 'Abd-ul-jalîl; they resisted for a short time but fled when ten or twelve of them had fallen. Then our people occupied the fort.' He ordered the messenger who brought this news to be given two rupees as a present; and at once wrote a reply ordering them

[1] The news was premature. The English did not join Nâsîr Jang with a considerable body of men till the end of the month. But it is curious to find Dupleix repeating this petulant outburst in a letter to the Company of October 3, 1750 (*Archives des Colonies*), when he had had ample time to learn the truth. But an irresistible tendency to undervalue his enemies was one of the principal defects of his mind and materially contributed to his ruin.

to return at once as there were troops this side of Villupuram. He had it despatched at once.

Black gram, bread, liquor, etc., were prepared and sent to camp this afternoon.

The chobdar who yesterday carried the letter to Fort St. David about the dispute at Tiruvêndipuram, returned this evening and said that they had received the letter and dismissed him promising to send a reply by their own people to-morrow. Chandrasêkhara Pandit sent word that he was being strictly guarded.

I hear news that the Maratha horse have plundered Kûdapâkkam and those parts, wounded three or four bullock-people, and carried off their bullocks.

I heard to-night that the King of France was overjoyed to hear that Mahârâja Râja Srî General Monsieur Dupleix Avargal had defeated the English in spite of all their ships and the help of the Muhammadans; so he sent by the *St. Jean* the cross of Saint Louis with a red ribbon.[1] There have also been sent crosses like M. Bury's for M. Dancy, M. de La Touche, and M. Puymorin. M. de Kerjean[2] has also received one in Europe. When the ship which brought them reached Mascareigne, M. David sent them on here by Monsieur Bouillé

[1] It appears that the cross of St. Louis was bestowed on Dupleix of the King's own motion. (Dupleix to the Minister, October 3, 1750—*Archives des Colonies*).

[2] He had been sent home with despatches early in 1749.

who came into the roads at half-past seven this evening, and fired two guns to announce his arrival. Chelingas were then sent off; and the Captain came ashore with the crosses after nine o'clock, and delivered them and the packet to the Governor in the presence of Madame Choisy. The Governor was overjoyed with the contents of the Europe letters. I then came home.

He sent Appu Mudali for me, who told me about the arrival of the ship and the crosses, etc. Hearing this glad news, I gave Appu Mudali a fine laced cloth and a turban, and set out for the Governor's house with 100 pagodas to be offered as a present to the Governor. I salaamed and gave him the present. He said, 'I have attained the highest possible honours in this world. The King of France has been pleased to send me the cross of St. Louis and a red ribbon, so there is no further honour for me to earn. By this cross I receive rank as a king's officer. This cross has already been presented to twenty-four persons in Paris; and I am the twenty-fifth.'[1] I praised him suitably.

As it is usual to wear for two months a badge of lower honour before wearing this cross of St. Louis, he put on the former at once,[2] and, sending

[1] The *Ordre royale et Militaire de St. Louis* was established by Louis XIV to reward military merit and was very seldom bestowed on any but military officers.

[2] The *Cordon* could not be worn for two months after receiving admission to the order. Dupleix assumed it on May 19. (Dupleix to the Minister, October 3, 1750—*Archives des Colonies*).

for the master-gunner, told him to fire a salute of twenty-one guns, and then gave a feast. I received *pân supârî* and rosewater, and having taken leave, came home, gave a nautch with music, distributed sugar, *pân supârî* and rose water, and then dismissed my guests.

Friday, March 13.[1]—A letter came from Chandâ Sâhib this morning saying that he wished to come here and speak with the Governor. The Governor replied that he might do so.

M. Bussy who has returned from camp went to the Governor and spoke to him about Chandâ Sâhib's and Muzaffar Jang's situation, their purpose of coming here and asking for money, the demands of their sepoys for their arrears, and the Marathas' surrounding them on the march, their fight and resistance.

M. Saint-Georges who went to the Tiruviti fort with the troops has returned. He told the Governor that he had seen about a lakh of Maratha horse and two or three lakhs of foot soldiers, and that the English had sent out in various directions 800 soldiers—first 500 and then 300—and 2,000 sepoys. He added that none of his guns had been disabled. Turning to me the Governor said, 'Do you hear what this officer says? What can I say of his behaviour?'

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[1] *4th Panguni, Sukla.*

The soldiers and sepoys sent to the Tiruviti fort have returned according to the Governor's orders; Kuppanna Pandit, my amaldâr there, and others returned, leaving behind them 10,000 pagodas' worth of grain.

I also hear that some Maratha horsemen have entered the Devanâmpattanam bounds and plundered them—indeed Morâri Râo is plundering and looting the whole country.

A salute of 21 guns was fired from the fort when Chandâ Sâhib and Razâ Sâhib entered, with Shaikh Hasan and two other jemadars, by the Villiyanallûr gate at half-past seven to-night. When they reached the Governor's house, he embraced Chandâ Sâhib and they exchanged compliments. Then both went in and sat down. Chandâ Sâhib said, 'When we departed, we settled affairs at Udaiyârpâlaiyam, Ariyalûr, Turaiyûr, etc. Then we marched and attacked Tanjore; but hearing of Nâsîr Jang's advance, we have returned. On our march, we were attacked by the Maratha horse but repulsed them and proceeded.' He related all this and praised the Governor for about two hours.

Then supper was brought from Mîr A'azam's house; so they all sat down to eat, took *pân supârî*, and then departed to the house near the Vêdapuri Îswaran Temple.

I also hear that Chandâ Sâhib gave the Governor a message from Muzaffar Jang. He said, 'You

have advanced till now five or six lakhs of rupees for the camp expenses, and it shall be repaid. I have paid 13 lakhs of rupees according to my promise to Muzaffar Jang and the balance will be paid shortly. It has been delayed because Mahfuz Khân hearing of Nâsîr Jang's advance has paid only one lakh and a half instead of the 10 lakhs he promised. Besides, for various reasons, the Tanjore money has not been paid. That is the cause of the delay. Muzaffar Jang would be receiving money now, if Nâsîr Jang were not camping in the way. As his wife and children are here, he begs you to make him an advance.' The Governor said, 'I cannot give any money now. I will give plenty of powder, shot, guns, etc., for the soldiers and sepoys, and also pay the soldiers and Muzaffar Khân's sepoys. You may depend upon this.' Thus he evaded their request.

Saturday, March 14.[1]—At ten o'clock this morning Chandâ Sâhib and Razâ Sâhib went to the Governor's house and again asked him to assist them with money. The Governor replied, 'You ask me for money; but if I were to give you any, you would pay your sepoys. They would accept it; but if they were ordered to fight, they would refuse to march before their accounts had been settled and their arrears paid up. They are people who would refuse to march in an emergency, and

[1] *5th Panguni, Sukla.*

who would even desert to the enemy in the thick of battle; so it is no use paying them. If necessary, I will help you with 500 soldiers and 500 sepoys, besides those you already have, with two 36-pounders, and powder and shot. I will pay my soldiers and Muzaffar Khân's sepoys, and also advance what you need for your own expenditure. Send bullocks and carts for powder and shot.' Chandâ Sâhib said, 'My words lack confidence, because I believe that this is not the proper time to attack Nâsîr Jang. If we stay here for two months, he must march away northwards. Then we can advance, take possession of Arcot and govern the subah.' I did not fully interpret to the Governor these timid words of Chandâ Sâhib. But he, noticing this, said, 'Tell me what Chandâ Sâhib says. I do not think that you have told me all. You seem to report what pleases you and omit the rest. Why do you do so? I must hear all he says before I can answer; otherwise I can do nothing.' So saying, he sent for M. Delarche, who came accordingly. The Governor said to him, 'Chandâ Sâhib first speaks to Madanânda Pandit, and then Ranga Pillai interprets it to me, so that it takes half an hour to speak a word.' Without explaining to M. Delarche what had already passed, he asked him to interpret what Chandâ Sâhib said.

He then spoke to Chandâ Sâhib as follows:—'We are giving you all necessary help; so what is there for you to do? You and Muzaffar Jang

must advance and defeat Nâsîr Jang. If you refuse to attack him, you will dishonour me, your ally. Till now I have got nothing but glory; so go forth and fight; and all will happen as God wills. Put your trust in Him and attack Nâsîr Jang. If he falls in battle, you shall march to Aurangabad; and I will give you the subahs of the Deccan; but if it falls out as you fear, it is the will of God. He who is fated to die soon, must die.' At that moment, a letter came from Chandâ Sâhib's wife saying that if Nâsîr Jang was to be attacked, her husband should march without her son. Razâ Sâhib replied, 'Formerly I marched with an army against Anwar-ud-dîn Khân and defeated him. What could be worse than to remain idly in Pondichery while my father went to battle? I cannot but go to the fight.' At these brave words, tears came into his father's eyes, on which Razâ Sâhib also wept, and they gazed at each other with grief. Razâ Sâhib went outside, and the Governor then said, 'Why this alarm? A man should earn glory on the earth. Will you dishonour your family? Go forth at once to the camp.' He said he would return with Muzaffar Jang to-night; and, having taken leave, set out for camp at three o'clock.

At four o'clock Muzaffar Khân came and reported to the Governor that Muzaffar Jang's mother, wife and children had arrived from camp and were at the Valudâvûr gate, and he desired permission for their entrance. Muzaffar Jang also

wrote to Chandâ Sâhib from camp that he had sent his family to Pondichery. Thereupon the Governor told me and M. d'Auteuil to go to the Valudâvûr gate and admit Muzaffar Jang's family and servants, but no sepoys or horsemen. So we went, admitted Muzaffar Jang's wife and servants, and conducted them to their lodging at Muttayya Pillai's house whither I sent carpets, cushions, etc., from my own home. I then informed the Governor, sent for Parasurâma Pillai, told him to see that they lacked nothing, and returned to the Governor's.

He said, 'Chandâ Sâhib said when he went away that he would bring Muzaffar Jang to-night. So you must stay at the nut-godown till eleven o'clock in case they come.' He seemed overjoyous and was playing on the *vîna*. I stayed at the nut-godown till eleven o'clock, and then came home as Muzaffar Jang had not come.

Sunday, March 15.[1]—At eight o'clock this morning, 21 guns were fired when Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân, Chandâ Sâhib and Razâ Sâhib entered by the Villiyanallûr gate to visit the Governor. There was a similar salute at the fort when they entered the Governor's house. He, Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân, Chandâ Sâhib, Razâ Sâhib, myself and M. Delarche assembled in a room there ; and they took counsel together as follows :—

When Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân asked the Governor for 10 lakhs of rupees, he replied, 'Not even

[1] *6th Panguni, Sukla.*

a quarter of what I have already lent you has been paid; so how can I lend you more? I will pay my soldiers and sepoys. It is my army that will fight with the enemy; so what is the use of lending you money to distribute to your sepoys? Moreover if they are paid now, they will only demand more and fail you when they are needed. So I can lend you nothing.' Muzaffar Jang replied, 'It is not so. If my army disperses at the enemy's approach, he will despise me and I shall be dishonoured. So lend me at least 5 lakhs of rupees.' The Governor continued, 'I cannot give so much but only what seems suitable.' So saying he called me. Then Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân and the others went to visit Madame. The Governor said to me, 'These people want money. What shall we do?' I replied, 'I am here to do what you order; am I fit to advise you? By God's blessing, you are wise enough to advise all; so what can I say?' He got angry at this and went away; but sent for me and questioned me again. I answered as before. He said, 'M. Delarche should know nothing of this. I know your mind. I have decided what they should be given. Won't they accept 3 lakhs?' I answered, 'Will anybody else give them a cash at this moment? Will their friends, relatives, brothers, etc., give them anything? They will be only too glad to accept it.' 'How can this be found?' he asked. I replied, 'There is the 64,000 rupees lent by Mîr Ghulâm Husain; there is 15,000 to the credit

of Imâm Sâhib, and 32,684 rupees as yet undistributed on the China voyage. Then there is the Manilla ship, *Muhammad Shâh Sarul*, in which Imâm Sâhib was concerned and which was taken by the English and sold to the Dutch; M. de La Bourdonnais when at Negapatam asked how they could have bought the ship knowing it to be French, and received 15,000 pagodas (or 41,186 rupees) on that account and Mîr Asad has a receipt for 30,000 rupees on account of Akbar Sâhib's affair.' He sent for Mîr A'azam at eleven o'clock and took the receipt from him. Mîr A'azam asked for a present which the Governor promised. These five items amounted to 182,860 rupees; and the Governor gave an order on M. Guillard for this sum, which with 17,160 rupees obtained from his writer Ranga Pillai amounts to 2,00,00[0] rupees. Thus a sum of two lakhs of rupees was made up, and sent to my nut-godown. The Governor told me to get the remaining lakh from the Company's merchants. He gave a receipt for 2 lakhs and told me to keep it, as otherwise the transaction would become known as the Company's merchants were numerous. I replied, 'I shall have to give it them if they demand it.' He said, 'You can give it them if you think the matter will be kept secret; otherwise I will find the money myself and take back the receipt.' I agreed. The lakh of rupees advanced by the merchants and the 2 lakhs as made up above were sent to the nut-godown.

The Governor told Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân this evening that he would give him 3 lakhs, and asked what security he would offer. Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân said that, if 3 lakhs were paid, he would give a bill of exchange payable at Adoni. The Governor agreed. This arrangement was made in case of accidents, in order to have a document which could be laid before Nâsîr Jang. He also asked Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân to give bills, not only for the 3 lakhs now given, but also for the 4 lakhs owed by Chandâ Sâhib. He replied, 'I will write and give a bill as I have promised; but Chandâ Sâhib owes the 4 lakhs, and why should I give a bill for that?' The Governor said, 'I ask for the paper only to show to Nâsîr Jang if he demands it. Chandâ Sâhib will pay the 4 lakhs, not you. So give me the paper. Should there be delay in sending the 3 lakhs from Adoni, your wife and children will be detained here till it has been paid.' Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân agreed, and gave a bond for 7 lakhs. He also declared that, should the 3 lakhs of rupees due on his private account not be paid at Adoni, he would leave his wife and children as hostages till the money was paid. He then requested the Governor to pay the 3 lakhs to Miyân Mas'ûd, and took his leave saying that he was returning to camp. He stayed at his lodging about a quarter of an hour, and then departed.

At eleven o'clock to-day, Nawâb Chandâ Sâhib told the Governor about the arrangements which he

had made at Tanjore before he left the place. He said, 'I sent my dîwân Râmâ Râo, Muzaffar Khân's Vakîl Jagannâtha Râo, and Muchiya Nambulai to the Râjâ of Tanjore in the fort. The Râjâ agreed to give a chest containing jewels set with precious stones, golden and silver articles and women's laced cloths, to pay 4 lakhs of rupees in ready money in five days, and to give an order on Pâvâdai Chetti of Negapatam for the remaining 2,60,000 rupees. He also said that he would settle the [other] affair with Mahfuz Khân. Both Muzaffar Khân's and our people agreed and demanded a bond for 6,60,000 [rupees] in the name of the Governor of Pondichery. But the Râjâ did not consent to this. They then demanded it in the name of M. Goupil, the Pondichery sardâr. He did not agree to this either but offered one in the name of Muzaffar Khân. Our people agreed to this; obtained the Râjâ's bond for the 6,60,000 rupees in the name of Muzaffar Khân and brought away the chest of small precious stones and the golden and silver articles and laced women's cloths, with the help of Kônêri Nâyakkan, the sowcar.' Chandâ Sâhib also added that the Râjâ had given a bond for 70 lakhs of rupees—30 lakhs in ready money and 40 lakhs secured by mortgage. The Governor asked Chandâ Sâhib to send for these two bonds for 70 lakhs and 6,60,000 rupees. Chandâ Sâhib said that the bond for 70 lakhs was at camp and that he would send it as soon as he returned. The Governor agreed; and then asked where

the bond for 6,60,000 rupees was. Chandâ Sâhib said that Muzaffar Khân had it. The Governor then sent for Muchiya Nambulai and questioned him. He said that the bond was in the name of Muzaffar Khân, who had it, and that he would get it if ordered. The Governor sent his chobdar to camp with Nambulai to fetch the bond from Muzaffar Khân. They went accordingly and asked Muzaffar Khân for it; but he said that Râmâ Râo had it. When Nambulai returned and reported this, the Governor ordered me to ask Râmâ Râo for it. I sent for Râmâ Râo and said, 'I hear that you have a bond for 6,60,000 rupees given by the Râjâ of Tanjore to Muzaffar Khân. Where is it?' Râmâ Râo replied, 'I have not got it. The Râjâ sent sowcar Kônêri Nâyakkan's people with his vakîl, Rudrâji Pandit and harkaras, with the gold and silver articles, laced women's cloths, and the chest of small precious stones with orders to deliver them to Muzaffar Khân. Accordingly they carried all the articles to the tent of Shaikh Hasan, Muzaffar Khân's younger brother. I told Chandâ Sâhib about this. Perhaps the Râjâ's bond was then delivered to Muzaffar Khân; Jagannâtha Râo, his man, will know everything. Please ask him.' Jagannâtha Râo and Nambulai were then sent for and questioned. They said, 'We were in the Tanjore fort. Small jewels, gold and silver articles, and women's cloths were sent by Râmâ Râo. The Râjâ's people asked in what form a bond should be drawn for 6,60,000

rupees in Muzaffar Khân's name. We prepared a draft and gave it to Râmâ Râo. He took it to the Râjâ, and had the bond written, and in company with the Râjâ's people brought the things mentioned above and the bond. He was told that the army would march by Tiruvâdi, not by Kumbakônam; but as they marched by Kumbakônam, the Râjâ of Tanjore ordered us to remain in the fort and not to depart. So Râmâ Râo must have the bond.' As I could not find out who had the bond, I sent the three men to Chandâ Sâhib along with Krishna Râo and four peons, instructing Krishna Râo to tell him what they had said, and bring them back with Chandâ Sâhib's reply. Krishna Râo went accordingly and informed Chandâ Sâhib who replied that he [Râmâ Râo ?] had reported to him with joy that he had received the bond for 6,60,000 rupees and that he [Chandâ Sâhib] remembered seeing the bag in which the bond was sent. Krishna Râo came and informed me of this in the presence of the three persons. When I went to the Governor's house, meaning to report this to him, I found the door closed as it was then eleven at night. I got it opened, and going to the Governor, reported what is written above. He ordered the three persons to be imprisoned and told me to go to Shaikh Hasan and question him about the bond.

He also asked me if I had paid Muzaffar Jang the 3 lakhs. I replied, 'I sent for his gumastahs and asked them to receive the sum. They replied

that, as it was past eleven, they could not take it then, but would come in the morning to receive it.' The Governor replied, 'Why did you not pay them earlier? They need it for the monthly pay; so send for their people at once and give it them; and I will give gate-passes for the money to be carried out.' I agreed and went to the nut-godown, told Guruvappa Chetti the Governor's orders, and asked him to send for the gumastahs. He said, 'It is midnight, so they cannot come and get the money now. Before I go home, I will go to their gumastahs and tell them to come early in the morning to get the money.' Then Guruvappa Chetti and Vîrâ Nâyakkan took leave.

I then went to Shaikh Hasan's house and told him what had passed. He said, 'Gold and silver articles and women's cloths were brought to my tent. I do not know what was done with the bond you mention. I will go to Muzaffar Khân to-morrow morning, tell him and send him here. He will explain everything in person.' I returned to the nut-godown and sent to inquire what the Governor was doing. As it was then one o'clock, I slept all night at the nut-godown. I heard that the Governor had gone to bed. Jagannâtha Râo, Râmâ Râo and Nambulai also slept at the nut-godown, guarded by four persons.

Monday, March 16.[1]—Two or three months ago, the Nawâb Sâhib granted a parwâna requiring

[1] *7th Panguni, Sukla.*

Muzaffar Jang's sowcar, Mansuk Râo, to be allowed to open a mint at Pachakuppam, but not specifying the touch and weight of the rupees. So I said permission could not be granted till these details were specified. Instead of going to camp, he stayed at Tiruppâppuliyûr within the English bounds, where he prepared silver bullets for stamping into rupees, and then coined two or three lakhs in the Sarkar's country just outside the bounds. Hearing of this I wrote to Venkâji Pandit, Mansuk Râo's gumastah, and Gôvardhana Dêvâi, saying, 'They ought not to coin rupees without our permission. Therefore I must demand from you a fine, the profit, and a present.' I also wrote to the Nawâb Sâhib and his son complaining of the great loss suffered, and asking how they could allow their merchants to set up a mint within the English bounds, and requesting their orders. I demanded of Mansuk Râo 7,500 rupees as a present and for his profit on coining 3 lakhs of rupees. Mansuk Râo replied, 'I coined no more than a lakh of rupees and I will give the profit on it and the appropriate present; as for the other 2 lakhs, I will pay you the profit and present if you can prove it by gumastahs.' I replied, 'Very well, pay the profit and present on a lakh of rupees; and as your gumastahs must pay you the profit and present on any additional amount, give me a note agreeing to pay the profit, etc., if the additional coinage is proved; and send for your gumastahs.' He agreed, gave me a

note to that effect and, getting 2,500 rupees from Guruvappa Chetti, he delivered it to me as profit, etc., on one lakh of rupees. I sent his note to Gôpâlaswâmi by Guruvappa Chetti.

At eleven o'clock as soon as Muzaffar Khân arrived from camp, the Governor sent for me and told me to fetch Râmâ Râo, Jagannâtha Râo and Muchiya Nambulai; so I sent for them. The Governor said to Muzaffar Khân, 'Chandâ Sâhib tells me that you have the bond for 6,60,000 rupees and that you told him so yourself. I want it.' He replied, 'I have not got it. My gumastah says that Râmâ Râo has it.' Thereupon the Governor questioned Jagannâtha Râo and Nambulai; and they answered, 'As we said, we were in the Tanjore fort. A chest containing small jewels, gold and silver articles and women's bed cloths was sent by Râmâ Râo together with the bond for 6,60,000 rupees which the Râjâ of Tanjore gave to his harkaras. That is all we know.' Then the Governor questioned Râmâ Râo, who said, 'The Râjâ gave the several articles and the bond in Muzaffar Khân's name to his vakîl and harkaras who accompanied me. Everything was delivered at Shaikh Hasan's tent; but I do not know if the harkaras gave him the bond.' The Governor grew angry at these indefinite answers, and first ordered Râmâ Râo to be imprisoned in the fort, but afterwards sent for me and ordered him to be imprisoned at the Nayinâr's house. I sent for the Nayinâr accordingly and told him to

keep the man in custody at his house. However Râmâ Râo is not to blame. The Nawâb told the Governor that Muzaffar Khân had the bond, and Nambulai says the same; so the Governor knows very well that Muzaffar Khân has it; but he has imprisoned Râmâ Râo because these are times of trouble and he cannot punish Muzaffar Khân because he has sepoys under his orders.

At three o'clock this afternoon Chandâ Sâhib and his son rode down to the Beach to inspect the two 36-pounders that are to be sent to camp. The Governor met them and accompanied Chandâ Sâhib to the fort where he showed him the new upstairs house that is being built, and then took him to his house. I was there and Chandâ Sâhib said to me, 'Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân has not given me a single cash out of the 3 lakhs he borrowed. Please tell the Governor and get me 50,000 rupees.' I replied, 'What will the Governor think if I tell him so? He lent the money to Muzaffar Jang only because you are friends. He will get angry and matters will go crookedly. So I cannot tell him.' Chandâ Sâhib remained silent, not knowing what to say.

The Governor then asked who the two jemadars with Chandâ Sâhib were. The latter replied, 'They come from Kandanûr. Nâsîr Jang has two men, Morô Pandit, the Diwân and Râmadâs Pandit. Râmadâs has sent these people to Muzaffar Jang with secret offers to make Nâsîr Jang's sepoys desert

to us. They came to me instead of first going to Muzaffar Jang, so he is displeased. They are at present in my household.' The Governor replied, 'Why do you do nothing when you receive offers to secure the desertion of your enemy's troops?' He replied that Muzaffar Jang was too displeased at their not visiting him first for anything to be done at present. The Governor then asked Chandâ Sâhib if he was not going to camp. He answered reluctantly that he was going. The Governor then rose, embraced Chandâ Sâhib and said, 'God bless you with all success. Go to the camp speedily and return.' The Nawâb said that he would do so, and, having taken his leave, departed.

Chandâ Sâhib seemed downcast when he set out, as though he went against his will.

Afterwards Razâ Sâhib came to take leave of the Governor who said, 'Remain always by your father's side. God bless you with all success and send you victory.' So he dismissed him, whereon he departed to camp.

I sent Tirumalai Râo as my vakîl to Morô Pandit. After they had met, the latter wrote as follows to the Governor:—'I hear that there is with you one Ânanda Ranga Pillai, a clever man, skilled in answering. If you will send him to me, I will discuss all matters with him.' He also wrote to me desiring me to visit him and discuss matters. When I reported this, the Governor told me to reply Morô Pandit as follows:—'I sent a vakîl to you

because I heard that you had come to offer terms; I should not have sent him had I known that you had come to conquer this country. Please pay him his batta and despatch him to-night with a pass.' I wrote letters accordingly on behalf of the Governor and myself and sent them by two harkaras along with a letter to Tirumalai Râo, our vakîl, reporting what is written above and ordering him to tell Morô Pandit he must have heard of the victories formerly won by French valour and that he would soon learn what it really was. I ordered the two harkaras to set out to-morrow morning.

The Governor promised Chandâ Sâhib before he departed to write to Muzaffar Jang desiring him to spare as much as possible for the former's expenses. He ordered me accordingly to write to Muzaffar Jang asking him to pay Chandâ Sâhib 50,000 rupees out of the 3 lakhs lent him for his army. I had a letter written to Muzaffar Jang accordingly and despatched it by Râjô Pandit.

Tuesday, March 17.[1]—At eight o'clock this morning the Governor sent for me and said, 'Mr. Floyer, the Governor of Fort St. David, has sent me an English letter which I have sent to M. Friell to be translated. He also sends one Telugu and two Tamil declarations. Tell me what they say.' So saying, he gave me the three papers. They are as follows.

[1] *8th Panguni, Sukla.*

One is a Telugu petition written by Chandrasêkhara Pandit, amaldâr of the Devanâmpattanam country saying :—'The English had already hoisted their flag before I had carried out the orders in your letter of March 7 to hoist the white flag. I am in good health.' This was signed not only by Viswanâtha Reddi and other Devanâmpattanam nâttârs but also by Sivanâga Reddi.

Another is a petition signed by Viswanâtha Reddi and other Devanâmpattanam nâttârs and attested by Oyâusu Kumarappa Mudali declaring that the white flag had never been hoisted since they took over the country.

The third is a declaration by Gôpâla Ayyan, the amaldâr of Nallâttûr, Mandagappêdu, Vânamâdêvi, Annavalli and Vîrapperumânallûr (my jaghir villages) stating that the white flag had never been hoisted, and attested by the nâttârs of Devanâmpattanam who had signed the other papers.[1]

The Governor gave me these three petitions to interpret. I reported (as written above) that they declared that the flags had never been hoisted and that not only Viswanâtha Reddi and others but also Sivanâga Reddi had signed them. He asked if flags had really been hoisted. I replied, 'Is there any doubt of it? The flagstaffs are still there to prove it, and the cost of hoisting the flags has been entered in the nâttârs' accounts. You

[1] For an English translation of the original documents, see *French Correspondence*, 1750, pp. 2-3.

may answer the Governor of Fort St. David that, if he will send you those who signed these petitions, you will send him their declaration that they have entered the cost of hoisting the flags in the accounts, that they signed the petitions because they were compelled to do so as they lived in the English country, that the flag had really been hoisted and that you will also send him their declarations, that what they said and wrote was due to threats of the amaldârs, so that the English declarations are valueless; that the French need no proofs of our right since all know that the country is ours, and that the English should have chosen a pretext which could be maintained.' When I suggested that such a letter might be sent he said, 'True, there is no need to search for proof of so notorious a matter. I will write accordingly. But M. Friell will translate his[1] letter, and I will wait till I know what it says.'[2]

I then said, 'The English have been fools enough to believe blindly all that Nâsîr Jang, Mahfuz Khân, Morô Pandit or anyone else writes; they have exaggerated their promises, incautiously hoisted their flag, fired eleven guns, drunk toasts and so returned. Last Tuesday night a letter was sent them complaining that, knowing everything, they should have hoisted their flag where ours had

[1] *I.e.*, Floyer's.

[2] Dupleix' answer, dated March 16, 1750, is in *French Correspondence*, 1750., p. 5.

already been hoisted with full right to do so. They have been considering all this time what excuse they could give and so have made up these letters.'—'True,' he said; 'they may have been persuaded by 'Abd-ul-jalîl to make all sorts of lying promises to Nâsîr Jang to send him more help than they can possibly do. 'Abd-ul-jalîl may have also written increasing their lies a hundredfold. In order to induce Sampâti Râo to accompany Nâsîr Jang, 'Abd-ul-jalîl has written other lies, saying that the English can swallow up their enemies, and that Nâsîr Jang's presence alone will be enough. Believing this, Nâsîr Jang marched trembling for his life, and sending Sampâti Râo, Mahfuz Khân, Morô Pandit and Morâri Râo, etc., in advance, intending to join them if there was a fair chance of success, but to halt and make terms if those sent in advance met with reverses. Thus he hoped to escape having to crack this hard nut himself. That is why he is still in Sîrpi or thereabouts.' I replied, 'Although Nâsîr Jang intends to remain at Chengama and those places, yet your fortune will force him to attack you so that you may have the glory of conquering even Nâsîr Jang who has rebelled against the Pâdshâh, just as you conquered the Nawâb of Arcot. Fortune is now against the English, Mahfuz Khân and the rest. Nâsîr Jang, on his arrival, will ask where the English army is. Mahfuz Khân will repeat his former lies, saying that the English deceived him with their promises

of five or ten thousand men to fight against the enemy, that they have sent only 200 or 300 Europeans, and that even these cannot fight on account of the peace between them and the French. Nâsîr Jang will not listen to these lies so joyfully as before. In this time of troubles more lies will only make him disbelieve all else he has been told; so he will fall into anger with them, and imprison and punish them suitably. All this will happen because the English are fated to be called impotent, liars, and black-faced, and cast the evil eye on the presiding deity of this country.[1] You are destined to win glory by conquering Nâsîr Jang; whereas he and his party will get dishonour by their defeat and flight. As the Tamil proverb says, "Because the earth-worm is called a snake[2] it also will dance when it sees a cobra dancing." The English are like that.'

When we were speaking thus, M. Friell sent the English letter translated into French. The Governor read it to me as follows:—'Abd-ul-jalîl sent for your man Chandrasêkhara Pandit, then in our bounds, and imprisoned him; but in consideration of your friendship, I ordered his release. Your own people admitted that the white flag had never been hoisted and I send you their letter. Your flag was never hoisted in Tiruvêndipuram; if it

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[1] *I.e.*, bring misfortune to Nâsîr Jang, who claimed to rule the Deccan and the South.

[2] In Tamil *mannulipâmbu.*

had been, I would not have touched it.'[1] The Governor said, 'What he writes is in our favour for he admits that our people were there, and that the amal was ours. No further proof is required. What does the flag matter when the whole world knows that our people are there and that the country is ours? If necessary, I could get a thousand declarations like Chandrasêkhara Pandit's which is not worth a cash. I shall reply that these things will be reported in Europe, that he too may do the same, and that the authorities there will inquire and settle it.' He added, 'The English have done one or two other things about which I have written a statement which is with my other papers. I will write about them also to Europe; and they shall be put to trouble.'

I then said, 'When Mr. Floyer and his soldiers went to Tiruvêndipuram and hoisted their flag on one of the five trees in front of the demolished Pillaiyâr temple, they fired three volleys, and then eleven guns, drank toasts and departed, carrying off Chandrasêkhara Pandit. But when our peon who had taken letters to him, took leave, he said, "Now I have been seized by them and am being taken to Fort St. David. I will send news when I reach Fort St. David. Tell them what has happened here, my capture, etc." The peon returned here accordingly and reported to me

[1] See Floyer's letter, dated March 5/16, in *French Correspondence*, 1750, p. 2.

what is written above. There is no doubt that the white flag was hoisted. Moreover Kêsava Râo whom I first sent as amaldâr of Tiruvêndipuram under the Devanâmpattanam country tied *tôranams* there and has shown in the accounts the cost of hoisting the white flag. When he handed over charge to Kôdandarâma Ayyan, he gave him an account of the money collected and spent, signed by the nâttârs of the place. There is one item of 2½ fanams for hoisting white flag; and the same Reddis who have signed the present declarations that flags were never hoisted have signed this account. I can show you the very tree on which the flag was flown, as well as those in the other villages. Moreover there are witnesses to prove that flags were hoisted on all the houses when Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân's and Chandâ Sâhib's armies camped here. There are flagstaffs to prove it not only in the Devanâmpattanam country but also in Tiruviti, Bhuvanagiri, Tîrtanagari, Venkatâmpêttai, Porto Novo, Villupuram, Tindivanam, Cheyûr, Achcharapâkkam, etc., places which belong to us. I can even prove that white flags were hoisted in places not belonging to us. When Mr. Floyer, the English Governor, went in person with fifty soldiers, hoisted his flag on one of the five or six trees in front of the demolished Pillaiyâr temple, fired three volleys and eleven guns, drank toasts and carried off our amaldâr Chandrasêkhara Pandit, our peon Palliputtiran who had a letter for the

Brâhman says that a white flag was flying on a tamarind tree in the next street, that the English did not remove it when they hoisted their flag and that when he asked our amaldâr for a letter as the English were carrying him away, he was told to narrate what had taken place. Accordingly the peon related everything to me in the presence of Madanânda Pandit, Imâm Sâhib's gumastah Chokkappa Mudali and others. I told you this news at four o'clock last Tuesday afternoon, March 10, when you were at the beach. You told me that, if I reminded you about it at six o'clock that evening when you went home, you would write to the Governor of Fort St. David. You wrote that very night.' He then sent Chokkappa Mudali and Madanânda Pandit to fetch the peon. When they came and reported the news, he sent for his dubâsh Appu and ordered him to interpret the peon's story. He exactly interpreted it,—the white flag flying on a tamarind tree in the Brâhman Street, and the coming of the English Governor with 50 soldiers at sunrise on March 10, and his hoisting his flag in one of the trees in the street by the demolished Pillaiyâr temple. On hearing this, the Governor asked if it was true. He replied that he could point out the tree to prove it and find people who were eye-witnesses. 'Were you two present when this man told this story to Ranga Pillai a week ago?' the Governor asked. They replied, 'Not only we, but five or six others were there. We

can send for them.' The Governor said, 'There is no need to inquire further into such a well-known matter as this. Take Appu's declaration of what he has just related in the presence of M. Bertrand, and get it signed by him, Madanânda Pandit and Chokkappa Mudali.' They made the declaration accordingly before the Secretary, M. Bertrand, and signed it. M. Bertrand gave it to the Governor, who took it saying that he would read and send it to-morrow along with his letter.

Then Mîr A'azam Sâhib who married Mîr Ghulâm Husain's sister's daughter, came and said, 'On Sunday, March 15, I gave up the paper for 30,000 rupees which 'Alî Akbar Sâhib wrote was due to me. You said that you would take these 30,000 rupees out of Mîr Ghulâm Husain's money with the Company, and lend it to Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân together with the 64,000 rupees for which he has given you a bond, and that you would repay these sums in six months with 8 per cent. interest; but I requested you to give me 4,000 rupees with a bond for the remaining 26,000 rupees. You agreed; so please give me a bond for the 26,000 rupees and give me 4,000 rupees in ready money.' So a bond for the 26,000 rupees with interest was written; and [the Governor] said, 'You told me 5,000 rupees were ready on the Tindivanam account. Pay Mîr A'azam 4,000 rupees out of this, and send for Muttiya Pillai, writer Ranga Pillai's younger brother, and tell him to enter in the accounts that you

have paid 4,000 rupees out of the Tindivanam rent to Mîr A'azam.' The entry was made accordingly. Having received from the Governor the bond for 26,000 rupees, Mîr A'azam asked me for the 4,000 rupees. I said I would pay him at my house. 'Very well,' he said and took leave.

At three o'clock this afternoon the Governor sent for me and asked me to interpret a letter received from Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân. It says, 'The horsemen at camp are bringing in grass, etc.; but the horsemen and sepoys camped between the gate and the bound hedge have not joined us. The bazaar-people also have not come. Please order them to come at once.' He immediately sent for the Major and ordered him to take 20 Europeans and direct all the sepoys, horsemen and bazaar-people belonging to Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn's army to quit the bounds and join the camp, leaving behind only the wounded horsemen and sepoys, the sick horses and women with their furniture, goods, conveyances, camels and bullocks, as already ordered. They were to be shot if they failed to go. The Major gave orders to Periyanna Nayinâr, and all have departed.

The Governor then said to me, 'I wrote to Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân yesterday afternoon to order his treasurer Yâqût to pay three lakhs of rupees on the presentation of Mansuk Râo's bill of exchange. Is he unwilling? I do not know why he has not written as requested.' I replied, 'He is sure to write,

for he has left his wife, children and even his mother as hostages here for the money he has borrowed. Perhaps the sepoys have troubled him, so that he has forgotten to write.' I was then told to write to Mansuk Râo saying that the Governor was angry with me because no order had been sent to the treasurer Yâqût Khân at Adoni and desiring him to get Muzaffar Jang's order and send it at once. I wrote to Mansuk Râo accordingly. I was also to say in answer to Muzaffar Jang's letter that Europeans had gone to order the sepoys, horsemen, bazaar-people, etc., out to camp, that they would soon arrive, and that an order should be sent to Yâqût. I sent this to camp by his chobdar and my Venkata Nâyakkan.

Wednesday, March 18.[1]—The Governor sent for me this morning and asked me if I had sent the camels according to the order sent to me at twelve last night. I said I had.

Half an hour later, sergeant Saint-Marc, ten Europeans with twenty Topasses and fifty sepoys who had gone to Gingee with 3,000 pagodas, returned in safety with the money carried by six palankin-boys. The sergeant Saint-Marc brought the 3,000 pagodas to the Governor, and, placing them before him, said, 'After reaching Gingee fort, we marched out once to drive away the people of Manrup Râjâ of Old Gingee. His nephew who led them was shot. Four or five

[1] 9th Panguni, Sukla.

sepoys were also killed and eight wounded. They then fled and did not come near Gingee fort again. One of our sepoys was killed and two were wounded. I was in the fort when I received your letter. Then 300 of Nâsîr Jang's men under a jemadar occupied the Kotwâl's choultry outside the fort, hoisted Nâsîr Jang's flag and sent a subahdar and a chobdar with Nâsîr Jang's orders. Presents were given when the letter was delivered. Immediately the killedar left the fort with the chobdar to visit the jemadar and received him and his people into the fort, which was delivered up to them; and we were allowed to depart. As soon as we had left the fort, we were shown a paper with a big seal which they said was Nâsîr Jang's parwâna. It was in Persian. Having taken it, we marched off, whereon the horsemen of Mêlacheri and Old Gingee appeared, but they fled as soon as we opened fire, and sent two of their peons to guide us to Pèrumukkal. When we reached Perumukkal, nine or ten horsemen who were plundering the villages thereabouts fled at sight of us. When the Gingee peons departed, Perumukkal Miyân Sâhib gave us two more, by whose guidance we marched last night and reached this place. Ten of 'Abd-ul-rahmân's horsemen who accompanied us refused to return with us and stayed behind.' The Governor remarked that, as such a few Europeans could march safely with their money though surrounded by large armies, Nâsîr Jang and his people must be greatly afraid of our troops. I

agreed and said that that was why Nâsîr Jang was afraid to come nearer this way. He said, 'Sergeant Saint-Marc deserves to be promoted to the rank of officer.'—'I think so too,' I replied, and added, 'None is so fortunate as you. There were only ten Europeans, twenty Topasses and fifty sepoys; and these had 3,000 pagodas in Gingee fort. The 1,500 men in garrison there would not stir even though a Nawâb came in person; they only bless the coming and curse the departing killedar; so when 300 of Nâsîr Jang's men came with a new killedar and hoisted their flag, the old killedar quietly gave up the fort. Part of Nâsîr Jang's army that marched to surround and attack Pondichery, has occupied Gingee. But even so they have harmed no one, but only shown them Nâsîr Jang's parwâna which says that, if the strong and valiant French in Gingee would obey the new killedar (I do not know his name) they could remain there in peace. How terrified he must be to have written so! Moreover the garrison did not hesitate to protect our people, and even the new killedar sent them away with compliments and guides. All this proves that none is so fortunate as you. All wonder at the return of our people from Gingee. Nâsîr Jang and his army will do no more though they have come hither prepared for war. Men say they have come to give you the glory of conquering Nâsîr Jang who rules the Deccan in defiance of the Pâdshâh, and thinks himself master of the Pâdshâh's

countries.' The Governor said, 'You are right. They have laid waste the whole country.' I continued, 'True; war is the punishment inflicted by God on the sinful. He will punish the guilty but bless you with victory.'—'But for His favour,' he said, 'all this could never have happened.' We talked thus for a long time.

Presently M. Pilavoine came and said, 'I have brought a statement of the shares due to those concerned in M. de La Villebague's voyage, the proceeds of which have been received. The dividend comes to 60 or more per cent. of the principal. M. Robert's share was shown as 500 and odd rupees on his 900 rupees subscribed.' As [the Governor] is his attorney, he signed the account, and ordered his writer, Muttiya Pillai, to receive the money from M. Pilavoine. He then turned to me and said, 'Let me have your share and enter it against me in the account.' I agreed and having acknowledged in the share account the receipt of the money, asked M. Pilavoine to pay the Governor 7,842 rupees and 14 *ganda*[1] on my capital of 13,008 rupees. The Governor at once told his writer Muttiya Pillai to get my 7,842 rupees and 14 *ganda*, and M. Robert's money from M. Pilavoine and enter the amount as received from me on M. de La Villebague's Manilla voyage. He then turned to M. Pilavoine and said, 'Ranga Pillai has ordered his

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[1] See *Hobson-Jobson*, *S.v.* Cowry.

share of 7,842 rupees and 14 *ganda* to be paid to me. My writer will go with you; give him M. Robert's and Ranga Pillai's shares.' He agreed and asked me if he was to give my money to the Governor. I said he might. He then took leave of the Governor, and bidding me adieu went away with writer Muttiya Pillai.

The Governor then said, 'I will enter so much received from you in my accounts and you will also show it in yours. The rest of the money will be received next year. M. Guerre[1] who is at Manilla is a rascal. He has stolen all the money.' So saying, he dismissed me. I said I would make the entries in the accounts and taking leave, went to the nut-godown.

The Governor sent for me in the afternoon and asked if Muzaffar Jang had yet written to his treasurer Coja Yâqût at Adoni. Just then a tall chobdar and Venkata Nâyakkan (the son of Nârâyana Dâs) whom I had sent, returned with a letter to the Governor, saying that a letter has been written to treasurer Coja Yâqût at Adoni, ordering him to pay the bearer of Mansuk Râo's bill of exchange three lakhs of rupees on presentation. The treasurer's letter was to the same effect. I reported to the Governor the contents of his letter and gave him the letter for Coja Yâqût. The Governor receiving it ordered a reply to be written to Muzaffar Jang as

[1] An employé of the Company shown in Dupleix' report of 1750 as a supernumerary without employment.

follows :—'I am much pleased to have received the letter for Yâqût at Adoni. I am sending M. d'Auteuil to you with instructions how to act when you go to battle. Do as he says, and God will bless you with success over your enemies.' I wrote accordingly and had the letter despatched.

At half-past four a soldier came and reported to the Governor that he had been sent by M. d'Auteuil to report his arrival at the Villiyanallûr gate. The Governor put on his coat, got into his palankin and went out, ordering me to meet him at the Villiyanallûr gate. I said my palankin-boys were not there. He told his chobdar to get me some of his own palankin-bearers, and set out. I thought it would be improper to wait till the palankin-boys came ; so I walked to the Villiyanallûr gate. The Governor and M. d'Auteuil talked for about an hour ; and when he took leave, they embraced and kissed each other. Before he took leave, he gave M. d'Auteuil the 3,000 pagodas which arrived this morning from Gingee and which he had brought in his palankin. M. d'Auteuil took it and departed to camp at Villiyanallûr.

Then Shaikh Hasan came from camp with Shaikh Ibrâhîm's younger brother, and reported as follows to the Governor :—'News has come that Nâsîr Jang is at Trichinopoly. As Muzaffar Jang distributed among his own men all the three lakhs of rupees which he received here, Chandâ Sâhib's sepoys and horsemen have been troubling him. I cannot

describe the disturbance they have made. I doubt if the sepoys will obey him; and think he will be betrayed.' Hearing this, he sent after M. d'Auteuil (who had already departed), and ordered him to see that the sepoys ceased to disturb Chandâ Sâhib; and then dismissed him, after speaking to him in private about their military plans.

He sent for M. Friell and told him to give 3,000 rupees to Shaikh Ibrâhîm's younger brother; and then, sending for his writer, asked him to give 5,000 rupees to Shaikh Hasan. He said to Shaikh Ibrâhîm's younger brother, 'In future you and your sepoys are to obey M. d'Auteuil; you are not to apply to Chandâ Sâhib for your pay; I will see to that.' He then sent for the gate-people, and ordered them to admit the loaded camels, bullocks and carriages and to let them depart when unloaded without hindrance; to let the sepoys' toddy, goods and rice pass free and not to hinder those coming in palankins or on horseback. He then went to the fort. After talking there with M. Friell, M. St. Paul, and M. Bury, he ordered a European officer out to camp. But he replied, 'I faint and am ill for a week if I am exposed to the sun—M. Bury knows this.' When the Governor was told that it was all true and that he had fallen from his horse, he excused him from going. He then went home, and I went to the nut-godown.

I hear that the Maratha horsemen surrounded and killed four of our Coffrees encamped at

Villiyanallûr when they were going to market and to the topes.

To-night some soldiers and sepoys went in search of the Marathas, and shot nine or ten horses. The rest fled at once. (This was reported to the Governor next morning but I write it here.)

I heard to-night that the Maratha horsemen broke into Arumpâtai Pillai's Choultry, slew some, plundered the rest, and caused other damage.

Monday, March 23.[1]—The Governor sent for me to-day and told me to get pagodas to send to Chandâ Sâhib instead of rupees, so that money could be sent secretly. About 5,000 pagodas were collected from M. Guillard, Tânappa Mudali, myself, the Second, M. Legou and others, including Vîrâ Chetti. Of these, the Governor gave 3,000 to six of his palankin-boys and despatched them with an escort of a sergeant and thirty sepoys. The money was to be delivered to M. d'Auteuil, to whom he wrote desiring him to obtain and send Chandâ Sâhib's receipt.

Chandâ Sâhib's gumastah, Râjô Pandit, and Muhammad Razâ Sâhib brought letters from Chandâ Sâhib, Morô Pandit, and Khâzi Dâyem and said, 'Morô Pandit and Saiyid Lashkar Khân agree that Chandâ Sâhib should receive Arcot, as he managed that subah for 40 years from the time of S'aadat-ul-lah Khân, and has risked his life for it; nor, say

[1] *14th Panguni, Sukla.*

they, will you be content unless he is confirmed in the subah, since to that end you slew Anwar-ud-dîn; in order therefore to satisfy you it has been resolved to give Arcot to Chandâ Sâhib; but as Muzaffar Jang's affair is notorious [ ].'

News has come that Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân has moved his camp-equipage northwards from the west, and hoisted his flag.

The Governor said that the English had answered our former letter, saying that they were sending people to Nâsîr Jang and that, if desired, they would settle our affairs with him.[1] He told me that our former letter ran as follows:—

'I have explained all about the hoisting of the white flag in the Devanâmpattanam country. You are not justified in interfering in our affairs. When you first began the Tanjore affair, we were bound by a treaty made by M. Dumas when Kârikâl was granted to us, to assist Tanjore against any enemy. You finished your affair speedily only because I refrained from opposing you. But Anwar-ud-dîn Khân was our great enemy; we have killed him and appointed Chandâ Sâhib to his place; in like manner you should not interfere in that affair. You know well the laws of nations and the dignity of our King. I am surprised that you should have acted thus. You set a bad example to your enemies. Consider this deeply.' He added, 'Their

[1] See Floyer, etc., to Dupleix, etc., dated March 10/21 (*French Correspondence*, 1750, pp. 4–5).

offering to tell their people who are going to Nâsîr Jang, to settle our affair also, makes me think they must be drunk or mad.'

In the afternoon Râjô Pandit and Razâ Sâhib who had brought letters from Chandâ Sâhib, Morô Pandit and Khâzi Dâyem, were sent back to camp with 2,000 pagodas and a reply.[1]

Tuesday, March 24.[2]—The troops camped to-day, according to orders [ ]. At noon, letters came from Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân and Chandâ Sâhib. Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân's letter says:—' M. d'Auteuil is encamped with his army according to your orders. But this is not the time to halt. If we now attack the enemy who are gathered together in fear, they will scatter and flee in all directions. Muhammad Razâ who has long been in my camp is a liar; but you believe his reports and order your troops to encamp, expecting all things to go well. This bears an ill-look. Be pleased to order them to march.'

Chandâ Sâhib's letter was written as though he was waiting to see which way the cat would jump[3]. The Governor having read them ordered replies to be written immediately.

Muhammad Razâ brought letters from Morô Pandit and Khâzi Dâyem. They said [ ].

[1] On receipt of the offers made on behalf of Nâsîr Jang, Dupleix ordered his people to halt, and expected that peace would be made. Dupleix to the Company, October 3, 1750 (*Archives des Colonies*).

[2] *15th Panguni, Sukla.*

[3] Lit., like a cat on a wall.

Letters came this evening from M. d'Auteuil, Chandâ Sâhib and Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân with the same news as the letters of this morning.

The Governor has ordered M. d'Auteuil to march to-morrow against the Marathas.

At ten o'clock to-night a letter came from M. d'Auteuil saying that the Marathas had attacked him. The Governor replied ordering him to march to-morrow.

Twenty sepoys, 10 Topasses and 20 of my peons—50 men in all—set out for Tindivanam.

A letter came at midnight from M. d'Auteuil [ ].

Thursday, March 26.[1]—The Governor sent for me this morning and said, 'Rice, etc., have to be sent to camp. Choose 200 of the bullocks brought in from outside.' So saying, he went to church to hear mass, and returned at ten o'clock.

A letter came from M. d'Auteuil saying that Mr. Floyer had written [Persian] letters to Nâsîr Jang, Shâh Nawâz Khân and Anwar-ud-dîn Khân Bahâdûr, and an English letter to Mr. Cope at Nâsîr Jang's camp[2]; and despatched them by a camel-driver who lost his way and was seized in Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân's camp. The Persian

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[1] *17th Panguni, Sukla. Kâsuperunâl* (lit., the festival of the giving of money)=Maundy Thursday.

[2] Anwar-ud-dîn Khân is of course Muhammad 'Alî Khân, who had assumed his father's title. He marched from Trichinopoly to Gingee to join Nâsîr Jang, and was accompanied by Cope and his detachment. I believe Ranga Pillai's version of the letters is the only one extant.

letters were to the following effect:—'I hear that you intend to attack the enemy to-morrow. If you defer your attack, I will send to-morrow Major Lawrence who is clever and has won many battles, a great man skilled in war. If you lay your plans for fighting after his arrival, you are sure to conquer.' M. d'Auteuil adds, 'Mr. Cope's letter directed him to act in concert with Major Lawrence who was coming with 500 soldiers, 1,000 or 2,000 sepoys, eight 24-pounders and eight 18-pounders. I also hear that he has made all preparations to march with Mahfuz Khân and will bring the tent with a broad cloth covering and other curiosities which are to be given as presents to Nâsîr Jang.' After reading this letter, the Governor sent for me, related what is written above, and asked how the camel-man could have lost his way. I replied, 'He may have done so if he were drunk, especially as he was travelling by night.' He observed, 'I don't think so. I believe the letter was written to deceive us and the camel-man was ordered to enter Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân's camp as though he had lost his way and then ask whose camp it was; and when he was told it was Muzaffar Jang's, he was to show the letter with this news in order to alarm our minds and deter us from attacking.'[1] I replied, 'It is true that such tricks are often used; but the letter is not very boastful; it only says that some troops

[1] There is no reason to suppose these letters not to be genuine These remarks illustrate the super-subtlety of Dupleix' mind.

will be sent under Major Lawrence, so I think it may be true. Moreover as there is peace between you and the English, they cannot fight openly but only under covert. Writing thus to him to defer fighting until he had Major Lawrence's advice, and contriving that this letter should fall into our hands would be the same as declaring open war upon us. These are King's matters. How can they be managed by a servant in a Company's factory? But the minds of others cannot be divined, for each seeks his own prosperity. Why should men act so foolishly as to secure their own ruin? I cannot suppose they would seek to injure themselves. But they have hoisted their flag, knowing we were masters of the Devanâmpattanam country and that our flag flew there. Among the Europeans, one flag cannot be hoisted where another is already flying. It is madness to do so.' He replied, 'I am sure he never lost his way but acted intentionally to deceive us. Have 500 Europeans really marched as M. d'Auteuil writes?' I replied, 'It is false. They have only 500 Europeans all together at Madras, Fort St. David, Cuddalore, Devikôttai and elsewhere.[1] Of these 150 under Mr. Cope, with some Mahé[2] and Bombay sepoys have marched from

[1] Certainly an under-estimate. 500 of Boscawen's people enlisted about September, 1749; and the total at this time was probably about 800 Europeans. A return among the Chatham MSS. (I. 99) gives the European troops on the coast in 1752 at 1,400; but that almost certainly includes Topasses.

[2] Malabar sepoys in English service.

Trichinopoly to Nâsír Jang's camp; they may have sent another hundred Europeans. How could more be sent? I have already reported that 'Abd-ul-jalîl has enlisted more than a hundred Topasses with two or three hundred Muhammadan and Carnatic troops and obtained from the English muskets and four 6-pounders which he has sent to Mahfuz Khân. He has also agreed to take into pay twenty or thirty European foreigners who were out of service. Accordingly [ ].'

Saturday, March 28.[1]—At six o'clock this evening Muttu, the Nayinâr's peon, brought a letter from M. d'Auteuil to the Governor and a letter from Vakîl Subbayyan to me. He said to the Governor, 'The troops camped at Pannaikuppam yesterday, marched about 4 miles and pitched their tents at Kumblamâttûr on the banks of the Gingee river. M. d'Auteuil at once sent Muchiya Nambulai to Nâsîr Jang's camp to find out if Nâsîr Jang was really halting at Villupuram. Muchiya Nambulai went accordingly and reported the result to M. d'Auteuil and Chandâ Sâhib.' M. d'Auteuil and Vakîl Subbayyan have written to the Governor and to me about it. Vakîl Subbayyan's letter says:—'Nâsîr Jang Nizâm is encamped between Villupuram and Koliyanûr. Mîr Asad Sâhib, Sampâti Râo, Mahfuz Khân, Muhammad 'Alî Khân (son of Anwar-ud-dîn Khân) of Trichinopoly, Khair-ud-dîn Khân

[1] *19th Panguni, Sukla.*

and 'Abd-ul-jalîl are with him at Koliyanûr with 200 English soldiers, 100 mestices,[1] 200 Topasses, 400 sepoys and 600 Carnatic peons. Moreover the Fort St. David troops are also there with 12 small and 2 great guns under the command of Mr. Cope, and he has five or six officers with him. Mahfuz Khân had 3,000 Kallars brought by Muhammad 'Alî Khân from Trichinopoly, with a guard of 50 English soldiers and four guns. The English brought from Fort St. David 36 tents for the Europeans, Topasses and sepoys and two for the chief officers. There are great stores of powder, Râchûr rockets, arms, etc., in Mahfuz Khân's and Muhammad 'Alî Khân's camp. Nâsîr Jang's artillery is parked west of the camp, where Mîr Asad also is. Large Maratha forces are camped at Yâdandai,[2] and part of Nâsîr Jang's artillery is north of the camp. There are about 150 elephants with howdahs. The sardârs of Cuddapah, Kandanûr, Raichûr, etc., have 2,000 horse each. The Europeans are camped on the east with 100 guns. Nimbalâkar, Chandrasên, Raghôji, Morâri Râo, Râmachandra Râo, Hanumanta Râo, Morô Pandit, Khâzi Dâyem, etc., are encamped with peons and guards between our camp and Nâsîr Jang's which is well-guarded on all sides by Râchûr rocket-people and armed men mounted on camels. There

[1] 'Mestice' merely means half-caste; I cannot suggest why these people should apparently be differentiated from Topasses.

[2] Not identified

is a whole street of royal tents, and numberless small bazaars. Rice sells in their camp at 12 seers, black gram at 18, ghee at 1¾ pukka seers, wheat and kadalai at 10 seers a rupee. The bullocks from Nâsîr Jang's camp and the petty bazaars in Sôttuppâlaiyam have been sent to Gingee. Nâsîr Jang's camp stretches about 5 miles from north to south and about 3 miles from east to west. This is the news reported by Muchiya Nambulai to M. d'Auteuil and Chandâ Sâhib.'

Sunday, March 29.[1]—The Governor sent for me this morning, and said, 'I don't know if there was any fighting yesterday afternoon. Have you heard any news?' I said I had heard that there had been no fight. 'Who brought the news?' he asked. I replied, 'Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân's people who were camped outside the Madras gate set out for his camp at nine and returned here at six o'clock this morning. I sent people to them, as soon as the gate was opened, to make inquiries and that is what I heard.'—'Are you sure,' the Governor asked, 'that there was no fight? The talaiyâri Muttu told me that there had been a battle.' I replied, 'I hear that the Marathas showed themselves as usual, but fled after four guns had been fired at them, and did not reappear; and the Kallars fired 10 or 20 Râchûr rockets at night, but when our people fired one or two guns, they also fled.

[1] *20th Panguni, Sukla.*

The whole camp is safe. There was nothing that could be called fighting. Some of the Maratha troops under Morô Pandit and seven or eight men from Nâsîr Jang's camp on elephants appeared and marched by Nâsîr Jang's camp in Valavanûr, Koliyanûr, Villupuram, etc., to Vikravândi on the bank of the river where they have halted.' He replied, 'Then you are sure that there has been no battle. Well, tell Parasurâma Pillai to send 50 bullock-loads of rice, etc.' He then dressed and went to church.

I sent for Chinna Parasurâman, and ordered him to tell Puttan to send 50 bullock-loads of rice, etc., to camp with an escort of 30 sepoys. As I was going to the nut-godown, Tyâgu said to me, 'Maundy Thursday of Holy week was four days ago and this is Easter Day. It is usual for people to confess themselves at this time; but on account of Nâsîr Jang's invasion, the Governor has not thought of doing so.'—'Indeed?' I said, and then went to the nut-godown.

While I was there, Chandâ Sâhib's gumastah, Sâmâ Râo, brought letters from Chandâ Sâhib for the Governor and to me. The Governor was returning from church when I took Sâmâ Râo to his house. After drinking coffee, he came and asked why he had come. Sâmâ Râo gave him a letter saying that the sepoys were causing great trouble, that they were refusing to serve unless they received their batta and that Sâmâ Râo would report the

other news. When I reported this, he called M. Guillard, who was there, gave him an order for 2,000 pagodas, and desired him to get the money. He sent it by his dubâsh to Muttayyan, the Governor's writer. When the Governor heard that M. Guillard had sent the 2,000 pagodas, he ordered them to be brought, and having given them to Sâmâ Râo, said to me, 'Tell Sâmâ Râo to give a receipt for 2,000 pagodas to be delivered to M. d'Auteuil on Chandâ Sâhib's account.' Sâmâ Râo took the money, agreed to do what was required, and gave me a receipt accordingly, which I gave to Muttayyan. The Governor told me to write a reply to Chandâ Sâhib, to be sent by Sâmâ Râo as follows:—'I send 2,000 pagodas by Sâmâ Râo who has been told to deliver them to M. d'Auteuil. Please receive it from him. Be bold and send me happy news of your victory.' I wrote and gave the letter to Sâmâ Râo, asking him to take the pagodas for safety's sake in the evening with the 30 sepoys and musketeers who are to escort the 50 bullock-loads of rice. He said he would do so and took leave.

A letter then came from M. d'Auteuil. The Governor rejoiced that there had been no fight. He said, 'What can the English do? They may even lose Fort St. David, for if Mubarat Jang and Muzaffar Jang get possession of the country, they will not suffer the English to trade, but will seize every town over which the English flag flies. This is a time of ill-fortune for the English and for the

killedars here who have joined Nâsîr Jang.' I replied, 'It is God's will that they should act foolishly, have bad fortune and undergo loss. A man must reap as he sows.' After discussing this at great length, he retired to bed.

Chandâ Sâhib's Sâmâ Râo, who this afternoon departed with the 30 sepoys escorting the 50 bullock-loads of rice, said to me, 'I am going with these people. Môttikkân Sîtârâm is supplying rice, dhall, etc. If you will give him 150 pagodas, I will repay it as soon as I have delivered these pagodas to Chandâ Sâhib through M. d'Auteuil.' I reported this to the Governor in the evening.

Tuesday, March 31.[1]—The Governor sent for me this morning and said, 'M. d'Auteuil's letter of yesterday said that a mansabdar of 5,000 horse had come from Nâsîr Jang; but to-day's letter says nothing about him.' I replied, 'Perhaps he is waiting to learn if the news is true or not.'

The Governor then said, 'Here is Subbayyan's letter to you. Interpret it.' I interpreted it as follows :—'Muhammad Anwar Khân Bahâdûr, paymaster of Nâsîr Jang's troops and of the Deccan, arrived on an elephant with a howdah at ten o'clock on Monday, March 30. He conferred with Muzaffar Jang and departed at ten o'clock at night. Muzaffar Jang's munshi Sukâmal, who was sent to Nâsîr Jang's camp, also accompanied the paymaster,

[1] *22nd Panguni, Sukla.*

Anwar Khân, and returned with him. Chandâ Sâhib remained in his own tent. I hear that they came to talk of peace, but declared that peace or war depended on Nâsîr Jang's will. They desired him to answer without delay.' When I reported this, he said, 'See how Muzaffar Jang has dismissed them without discussing peace with Chandâ Sâhib or M. d'Auteuil! I will teach him to act so. He has forgotten me already; but Muhammadans will beg and prostrate themselves in a time of need, and then boast and disregard those who have helped them. For this there is no one like Muhammadans.' I replied, 'Your words are true. There are more Muhammadans like that than any others.'—'True,' he said and went to church to hear mass. He returned from church at eight o'clock, drank coffee, and then went into his room to write to M. d'Auteuil. Letters came from our camp at Kumblamâttûr. Chandâ Sâhib's letter bore M. d'Auteuil's seal. Nawâb Muzaffar Jang has written to his wife, his mother and Hâji Fâzil Khân, who is in charge of his house, as well as to the Governor. I sent the letters for his family to Muzaffar Jang's house and reported the contents of the Governor's letter as follows:—'At ten o'clock to-day, the paymaster of Nâsîr Jang's troops arrived with other great men to treat for peace. I therefore sent for M. d'Auteuil. He sent M. Bussy on his behalf, and in his and Chandâ Sâhib's presence I discussed peace and sent him away. It will be best for both if they will

make peace; but otherwise I shall surely conquer, for I have God's grace and your favour. Victory will be mine on account of your help and favour. M. d'Auteuil's and Chandâ Sâhib's letters to you will explain these and other matters.' On this he ordered me to interpret Chandâ Sâhib's letter which ran as follows:—'On the 21st of this Muhammadan month, Muhammad Anwar Khân, a great man and paymaster of the Deccan, came to Muzaffar Jang to propose terms of peace from Nizâm-ud-daulah. Their interview was as follows:—Muhammad Anwar Khân, the paymaster, said, "I am ordered by Nizâm-ud-daulah to tell you that, although he has marched hither with his invincible cavalry, foot-soldiers and artillery, etc., together with the armies of his subahdars and poligars, he will esteem his son and you, his sister's son, as the same; that he wishes not to kill his own blood any more than he wishes to kill himself, and that he intends you no harm. He offers to grant jaghirs to you and Chandâ Sâhib whom you have set up, to repay in ready money what you have borrowed from the Governor of Pondichery and to pay your sepoys and cavalry all their arrears. This offer he will confirm by oath." Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân replied, "The grant of Adoni and other countries to me and of the Arcot subah to Chandâ Sâhib, and the payment of our debts, will be accepted if the Governor of Pondichery approve; but without that I can do nothing." He replied, "I will report this

to Nâsîr Jang and send a reply to-morrow." He then departed. As we desired, he has agreed to pay Muzaffar Jang what you have lent him and the arrears due to the sepoys and horsemen; so what more can we gain by fighting? As by God's grace and your assistance, our affairs are prosperous, there can be no better opportunity. I have asked M. d'Auteuil to remain in camp till the reply is received to-morrow. He sent his man, M. Bussy, to attend the interview. The paymaster took his leave at about ten o'clock at night saying that he would report it to Nâsîr Jang and send his reply to-morrow afternoon. Muzaffar Jang has sent his munshi, Sukâmal with him. All will be made clear by M. d'Auteuil's letter.'

When I reported this to the Governor, he observed, 'It is strange that M. d'Auteuil has not written to me.' I answered, 'As both Chandâ Sâhib's and Muzaffar Jang's letters say all will be made clear by M. d'Auteuil's letter, you will hear from him soon.'—'True,' he said, and ordered me to answer Chandâ Sâhib as follows:—'I have read with boundless joy your letter announcing the arrival on Monday, March 30, of Muhammad Anwar Khân, paymaster of the Deccan, with offers of peace from Nawâb Nizâm-ud-daulah, his reporting to Muzaffar Jang his message from Nizâm-ud-daulah, Muzaffar Jang's reply and M. Bussy's presence at the interview according to M. d'Auteuil's orders. I and Nizâm-ud-daulah are not enemies, nor was there

any enmity before; but as you and Muzaffar Jang became enemies of Nâsîr Jang, and I am on your side, I also became his enemy. Desiring your prosperity, I sent you help, so I share your good and evil fortune. I approve whether you decide for peace or war. I have written to M. d'Auteuil, the commander of the army, to do as you order, and he will act accordingly. In any case, God will bring down the enemy and prosper us. But if peace be arranged through me, I will make a strong agreement in our favour and so settle it that they cannot depart therefrom. So conclude the treaty through me; else I am not for it. Moreover, should they accept some terms and reject others, do not agree; we can then wage war. There will be no other alternative. I suspect that they will try to deceive us; but they shall not—they will deceive themselves.' I wrote accordingly. He told me to write a similar letter to Nawâb Hidâyat Muhî-ud-dîn Khân. So I wrote that also, sealed them both and had them ready.

Then a peon came with M. d'Auteuil's letter. The Governor read it, said that it was the same as Chandâ Sâhib's letter, and added, 'You know that Chandâ Sâhib's letter only mentioned the Adoni country as offered to Muzaffar Jang, but M. d'Auteuil says that he is to have all the country this side of the Kistna. Moreover, the paymaster required Muzaffar Jang to give up Chandâ Sâhib; but Muzaffar Jang declared that the French helped him

only because of Chandâ Sâhib, and as his success was solely due to them he could not abandon either Chandâ Sâhib or the French, and that the terms must be settled in the presence of the Governor of Pondichery.' The Governor told me this with great joy. He also said, 'I do not know what the English can do. The Viceroy of Goa has written to Mr. Floyer, the Governor of Fort St. David, threatening war on account of Mr. Boscawen's seizing the padre of Mylapore and hoisting the English instead of the Portuguese flag. The English are much terrified The Portuguese officer who carried the letter to Fort St. David brought me a letter about it yesterday.[1] The English must be almost desperate. Moreover Imperial ships are coming to India to trade, and English ships have been sent after them. There are orders that the Imperial ships must not lie in their roadsteads, or be allowed to trade. Formerly the Emperor and the English were great friends. But now they have written that his ships should be seized and even sent ships after them. As the English are trying to harm their friends, they must be ruined. Besides, the right and left-hand caste people are quarrelling at Madras.' [2] He then gave

[1] Dupleix' intrigues at Goa induced the Portuguese to make not only this but subsequent attempts to induce the English to give up possession of St. Thomé.

[2] The destruction of a large part of the Black Town by the French had obliterated the traditional division of streets between the two groups of castes. This had brought about new disputes. See Love's *Vestiges*, Vol. ii, p. 419.

me the letter he had written to M. d'Auteuil to be despatched along with Chandâ Sâhib's and Muzaffar Jang's letters. I wrote letters to Chandâ Sâhib and Vakîl Subbayyan; and after despatching them to camp at two o'clock, went to the nut-godown.

Another letter was received from M. d'Auteuil with Chandâ Sâhib's sealed and signed receipt for the 2,000 star pagodas sent by Sâmâ Râo. After reading the letter, he gave me the receipt and asked if it was correct. I showed it to Madanânda Pandit. It is as follows:—'I have received in M. d'Auteuil's presence the 2,000 pagodas sent by Sâmâ Râo.' I informed the Governor, and, giving it to him, went to the nut-godown.

At three o'clock this afternoon, the Governor sent for me and asked if 150 bullock-loads of rice, etc., had been sent to camp. I said Parasurâman had reported their despatch.

He then said, 'Is the paymaster, Muhammad Anwar Khân, who came with terms, an important man? Will he keep his promise? Will he tell Nâsîr Jang that he will no longer serve him if he breaks his word?' He repeated these questions several times. I replied, 'An unfaithful or deceitful man would not be entrusted with affairs of state when the armies have been but a league apart for the last twenty days, and an engagement hourly expected. But he [Nâsîr Jang] has shrunk from it partly by fear of you and partly owing to the condition of

affairs. He wants to conceal this and make Muzaffar Jang appear to seek peace; that is why he says he regards his own and his sister's son as the same and offers to make a settlement and pay money. Having marched 125 leagues and regarding himself as lord of these subahs, he hesitates to act in haste lest he should be dishonoured. He cannot act with resolution, but will boast his power and then depart after granting the [subah]. So I suppose it will take five or six days more to make peace and decide matters.' He agreed, but asked again if the matter could be settled without a battle. I said all I could to convince him that peace would be made, but he put no trust in my words and questioned me in so many ways, that I cannot write it in full. I did my best to encourage him ; and he argued that I was right but afterwards asked me ten score of times if it was really so. At last he was convinced that peace would be made, wrote with joy to M. d'Auteuil, and then drove to the beach.

When he returned, he sent for me, and asked what news there was. I said I had heard from Ayyâkannu Chetti of Porto Novo that Mr. Cope had gone to Fort St. David. He asked if it was true, and I told him all about the man who had given me the news. He went at once to Madame and told her. As Savarimuttu had written the same news to her, he agreed that it must be true. I then said that Mîr A'azam Sâhib and Saiyid

Husain Khân (the Pathan jemadar) declared that peace would be made. 'Did Mîr A'azam say so?' he asked.—'Yes,' I replied.

I then said that Muttu Mallâ Reddi had marched with two or three hundred peons from Orattippâlaiyam and seized Nayinâtha Mudali's family, grain, etc.; that our sepoys and Topasses had gone to Tindivanam and fired ten guns, on which the enemy had fled with their families and grain. He replied that God would punish them.

NOMINAL INDEX.